



**DELHI UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY**

DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

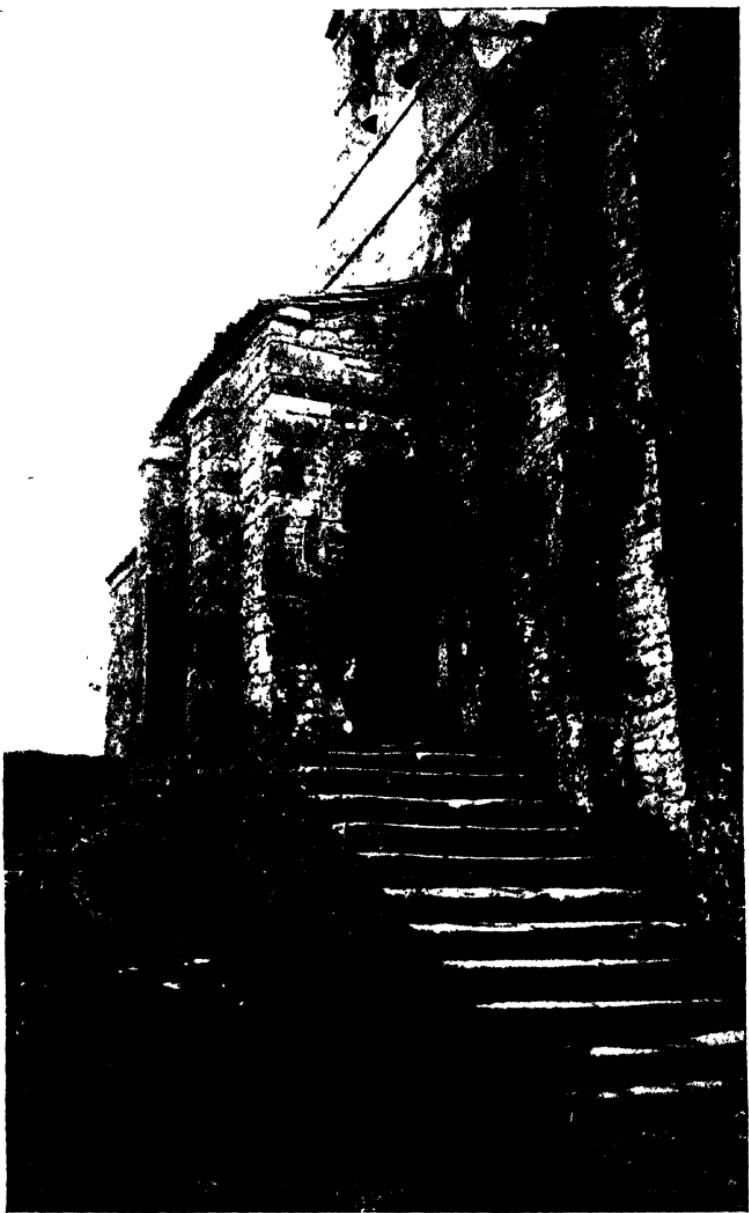
Cl. No. N15:D:986 F4

Ac. No. 8122 Date of release or issue

23 MAR 1976

This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below. A fine of one anna will be charged for each day the book is kept overtime.

---



(V. p. 108)

*Photo. E. H. Lowber*

The Church Porch

# **PRE-ROMANESQUE CHURCHES OF SPAIN**

**By**

**GEORGIANA GODDARD KING**

**Professor of the History of Art in Bryn Mawr College**

**Member of the Hispanic Society of America**

**BRYN MAWR COLLEGE  
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania**

**LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.  
London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras**

**1924**

**COPYRIGHT, 1924, BY  
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE  
Printed in the United States of America  
All Rights Reserved, including Scandinavian Countries**

A  
LOS NOMBRES INOLVIDABLES  
DE  
GEORGE EDMUND STREET  
Y  
VICENTE LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA  
HOMENAJE



## PREFACE

This little book was planned and most of the work for it was done between 1912 and 1915, and there are only four churches of importance, among those discussed, that have not been visited either in those years or later; but the long labours of *The Way of S. James* with other undertakings and commissions of the Hispanic Society, growing out of the expedition made in the company of E. H. Lowber for the Society in 1919-20, have delayed the finishing. This is less to be regretted because meanwhile has appeared the learned and brilliant work on Mozarabic Churches by my friend D. M. Gómez-Moreno, on which I have drawn freely as will be seen.

I have, further, to thank him for the book itself, for the very generous gift of his own photographs, and the permission to use these and plans from the book; also Sr. Agapito y Revilla of Valladolid for much matter, and D. Benito Fernández

Twelve  
years'  
workIncluding  
plans

Cockle-  
shells and  
cockle-  
burr

Alonso of the Commission of Historic Monuments at Orense; my friends A. Mas of Barcelona and E. H. Lowber of Bryn Mawr for photographs, with the Hispanic Society of America and the Princeton University Press for permission to reproduce photographs and a plan; likewise Doña Blanca de los Ríos for leave to use plans of her husband's. Indeed I owe much help, and books for this work, to my dear master Lampérez. Nor can I leave unthanked Messrs. Holmes and Deats of Philadelphia, who with patient skill have made good prints from photographic matter that was often in a sad state, being, like the little church of Naranco in 848, *nimia vetustate consumptum*.

Candlemas, 1924

## CONTENTS

	PAGE	
Map of Spain . . . . .	Inside front cover	Visigothic churches
¶ Plates . . . . .	xi	
¶ I. Spain. . . . .	1	
¶ The Visigoths . . . . .	3	I
Merida . . . . .	28	
Segobriga . . . . .	31	
S. Juan de Baños . . . . .	37	
S. Comba de Bande . . . . .	45	
S. Pedro de Nave . . . . .	50	
Churches of Tarrasa . . . . .	58	
Germigny-les-Prés . . . . .	60	
S. Roman de Hornija . . . . .	62	
Portugal . . . . .	64	
Other building . . . . .	66	
S. Maria de Melque . . . . .	67	
¶ Conclusions . . . . .	72	
¶ II. The Reconquest . . . . .	73	II
Santiafies . . . . .	86	
Oviedo, S. Tirso . . . . .	93	
Camara Santa . . . . .	95	
Capilla del Rey Casto . . . . .	97	
Santullano . . . . .	99	
S. Maria de Naranco . . . . .	105	
S. Cristina de Lena . . . . .	114	

x	<b>P R E - R O M A N E S Q U E</b>	
II  Reconquest and Mozarabic	PAGE	
	S. Miguel de Linio . . . . .	117
	Val de Dios . . . . .	123
	S. Salvador de Priesca . . . . .	127
	S. Pedro de Nora . . . . .	129
	S. Salvador de Fuentes . . . . .	131
	S. Adrian de Tuñon . . . . .	131
	¶ Summing Up . . . . .	132
	¶ III. The Mozarabic Epoch . . . . .	139
	S. Miguel de Escalada . . . . .	158
III	S. Cebrian de Mazote . . . . .	167
	Santiago de Peñalba . . . . .	169
	S. Tomás de las Ollas. . . . .	174
	S. Miguel de Celanova . . . . .	176
	Villanueva de las Infantas. . . . .	180
	S. Maria de Bamba . . . . .	182
	S. Maria de Lebena . . . . .	185
	S. Roman de Moroso. . . . .	191
	S. Juan de la Peña . . . . .	192
	Catalan Churches . . . . .	193
S. Millan de Suso . . . . .	194	
S. Baudel de Berlanga . . . . .	197	
¶ Conclusion . . . . .	201	
¶ Notes . . . . .	206	
¶ Bibliography . . . . .	229	
¶ Index. . . . .	239	
¶ Plans. . . . .	249	
Map of Spain . . . . .	Inside back cover	
VII	<b>B R Y N M A W R N O T E S</b>	

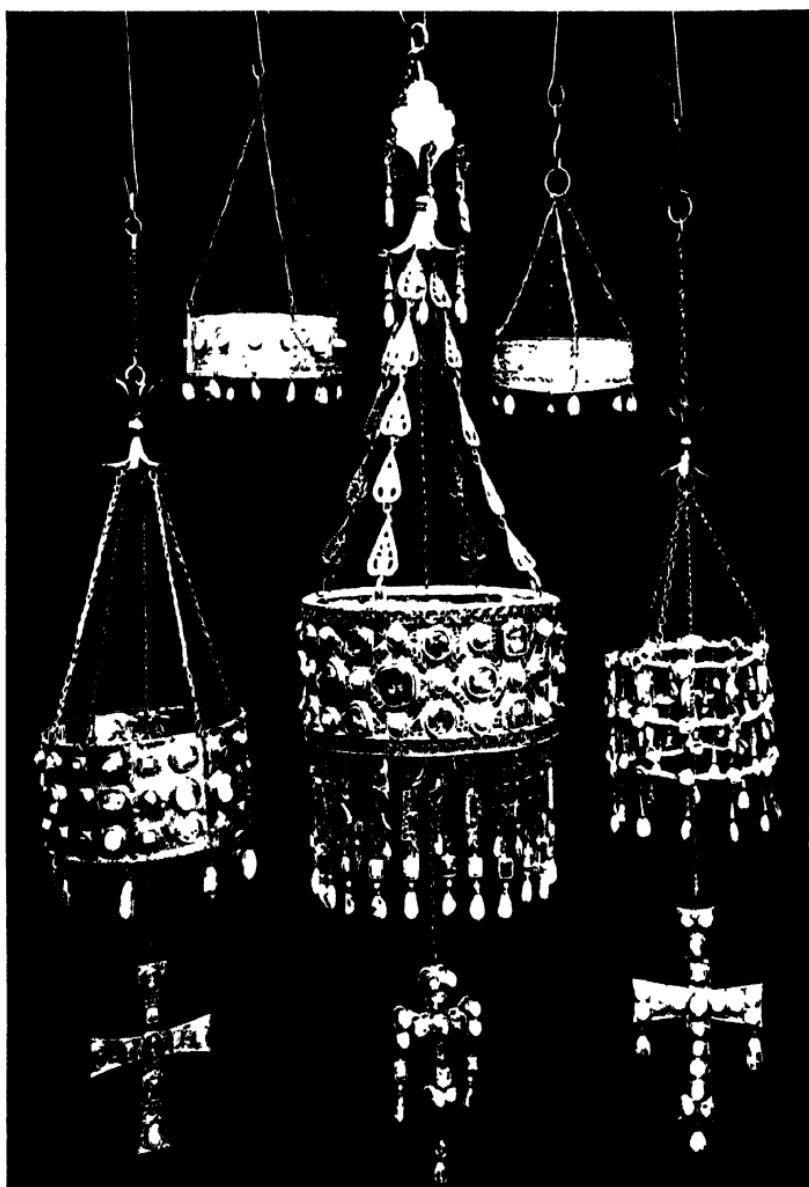
## PLATES

	FACING PAGE	
I. The Church Porch . <i>Frontispiece</i>		Naranco
II. Crowns of Guerrazar . . . .	xii	
III. East-Imperial Art . . . .	1	
IV. Merida Cistern . . . .	4	
V. Merida and Oviedo . . . .	5	
VI. Capitals: Baños and Sahagún	12	
VII. Bracket and Impost. . . .	13	
VIII. S. Juan de Baños (outside) .	20	
IX. S. Juan de Baños (apse) . .	21	
X. S. Comba de Bande (interior)	28	
XI. Capitals: Bande and Peñalba	29	
XII. S. Pedro de la Nave . . . .	36	
XIII. Cruciform and Basilican. .	37	
XIV. Bande: Tarrasa. . . .	44	
XV. Baptistry, Tarrasa . . . .	45	
XVI. S. María de Melqué . . . .	52	
XVII. Apse at Melqué. . . .	53	
XVIII. S. Julian's-in-the-Fields .	60	
XIX. Eastern Workmanship . .	61	
XX. S. María de Naranco . . . .	68	
XXI. S. María de Naranco (section)	69	
XXII. S. Cristina: Shaqqa . . . .	76	
XXIII. S. Cristina de Lena (sections)	77	
XXIV. S. Cristina de Lena (choir). .	84	S. Miguel
XXV. The Hillside Place. . . .	85	de Linio

Celanova

XXVI.	S. Salvador, Val de Dios . . .	92
XXVII.	Escalada (capitals) . . . . .	93
XXVIII.	S. Miguel de Escalada . . . .	100
XXIX.	Carvings, Mazote, Escalada.	101
XXX.	S. Cebrian de Mazote . . . .	108
XXXI.	Shehba (capitals) . . . . .	109
XXXII.	In the Campos de los Godos	116
XXXIII.	Mazote (capitals) . . . . .	117
XXXIV.	Mazote (apse) . . . . .	124
XXXV.	S. Tomás de las Ollas . . . .	125
XXXVI.	Peñalba (eastern apse) . . .	132
XXXVII.	Peñalba (western apse) . . .	133
XXXVIII.	The Convent Cabbage-Patch	140
XXXIX.	S. Miguel de Celanova . . . .	141
XL.	The Church of Bamba . . . .	148
XLI.	Bamba (nave arcade) . . . .	149
XLII.	S. Maria de Lebeña . . . . .	156
XLIII.	Light and Shadow at Lebeña	157
XLIV.	The Church of Olerdula . . .	164
XLV.	S. Julian de Buada . . . . .	165
XLVI.	S. Millan de Suso . . . . .	172
XLVII.	S. Millan (capitals) . . . . .	173
XLVIII.	Berlanga (wall-paintings) . .	180
XLIX.	Berlanga, The Arcade . . . .	181
L.	S. Baudel (from sanctuary) .	196
LI.	South Aisle, Escalada . . . .	197

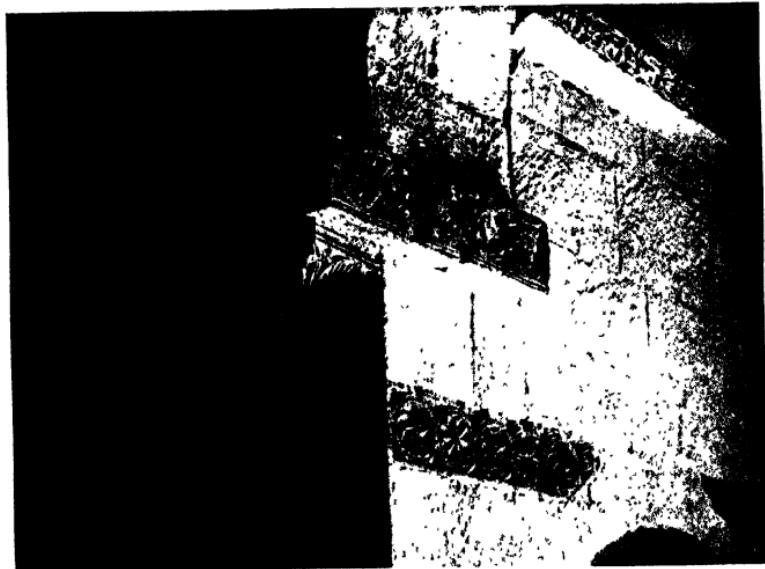




(V. p. 19)

*Photo Girandon*

The Crowns of Guerrazar



(V. p. 55)

Nave

*Photo. Gómez-Moreno*



(V. p. 39)

Merida  
East-Imperial Art, Christian and Pagan

*Photo. Mon. Arguit.*

## PRE-ROMANESQUE CHURCHES OF SPAIN

## I

Spain is a Mediterranean land, peopled from the outset by Mediterraneans. Upon the Celtiberian stock many civilizations were grafted, but the original and inalterable affinities with peoples of their own kind have determined what should survive, and what, on the other hand, however eagerly prized or however strongly imposed, should wither and disappear. From all the countries that lie around the Mediterranean basin—not from the Greek and Latin empires alone and the Carthaginian, but from Asia Minor, Syria, Constantinople, with whatever the Arabs brought from Persia and Mesopotamia—the culture of Spain was derived. Less completely she accepted the Northern invaders, whether blond Visigoths or black monks of Cluny; and what they brought,

Spain a  
Mediterranean  
land

Story of  
Spanish  
architecture

in the taking was transformed or absorbed, and disappeared.

How this came about with the Romanesque style and the plateresque, how the grand baroque of the seventeenth century ripened on the canvas of Ribera and in the carving of Churriguerra, I hope to show some day in succeeding volumes of this series. What traces Greece has left in the peninsula another hand will explore. Leaving untouched, for the moment, the Roman epoch, the intention of this book is to consider the time that stretches from the coming of the Visigoths to the coming of Cluny, and its scope is confined to the churches of that age.

Three  
styles  
before  
Roman-  
esque

The pre-Romanesque churches of Spain, then, are the subject. These fall into three separate groups in order of time, and close examination shows usually a corresponding difference of style. The first comprises such churches as survive from the days of the Visigothic monarchy; they are few, but fortunately typical. Those which were built at the beginning of the Reconquest by Asturian kings constitute the second.

The third group is made up of the Mozarabic churches, built in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, which have no parallel in France or Italy.



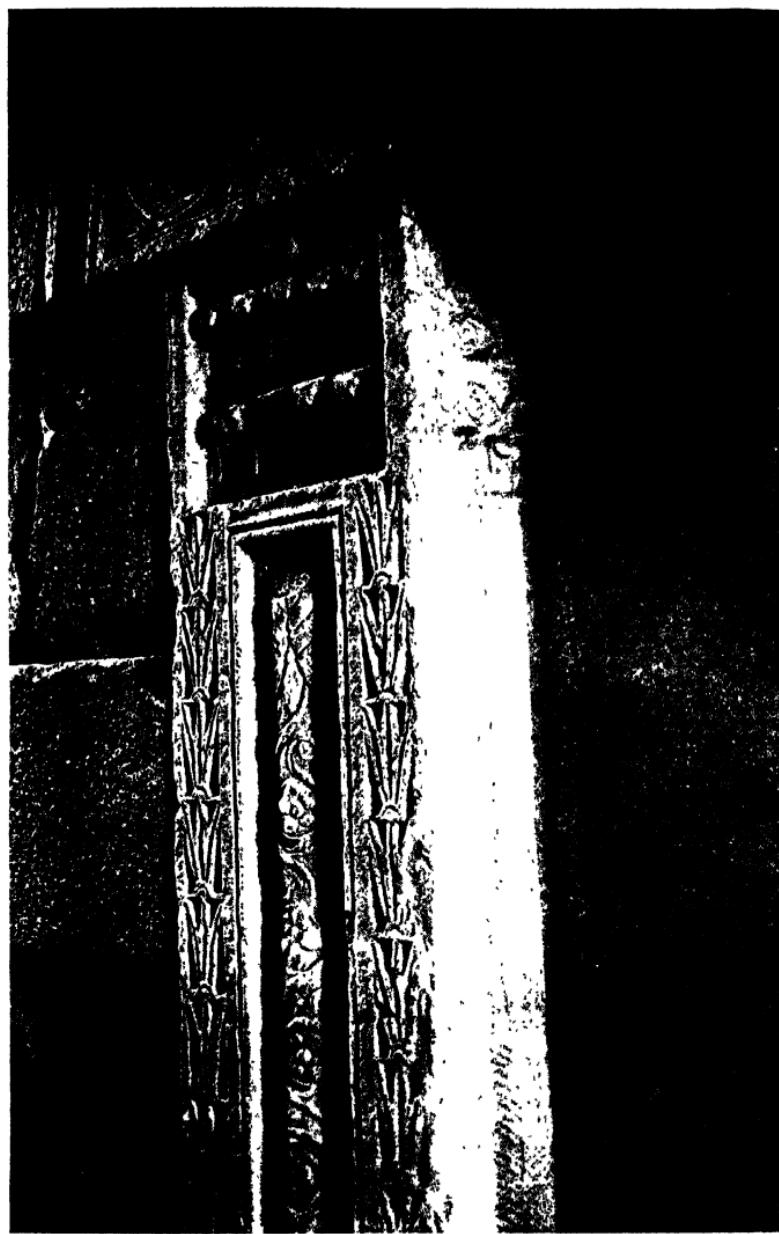
The Spain<sup>1</sup> into which the Visigoths came as the fifth century opened was an integral part of the Empire, the most entirely Roman, perhaps, of any province. Emperors and poets it had given to Rome, and, nearly half a millennium before, it had accepted from Rome her civilization more willingly than her political dominion. Upon the Iberian people the Latin culture was welded and tempered to a great and splendid spirit. Incessant contact with Alexandria and the Hellenistic East, and thereafter with Constantinople, had modified the arts and the religions, more perhaps than in Italy. Isis, Serapis and Mithras were long-established in the land. The statues of Merida and Italica show a regional style in sculpture, more akin to Ephesus and Antioch than to Rome; the

The  
Visigoths

Pilgrims  
of the East:

Bishops,

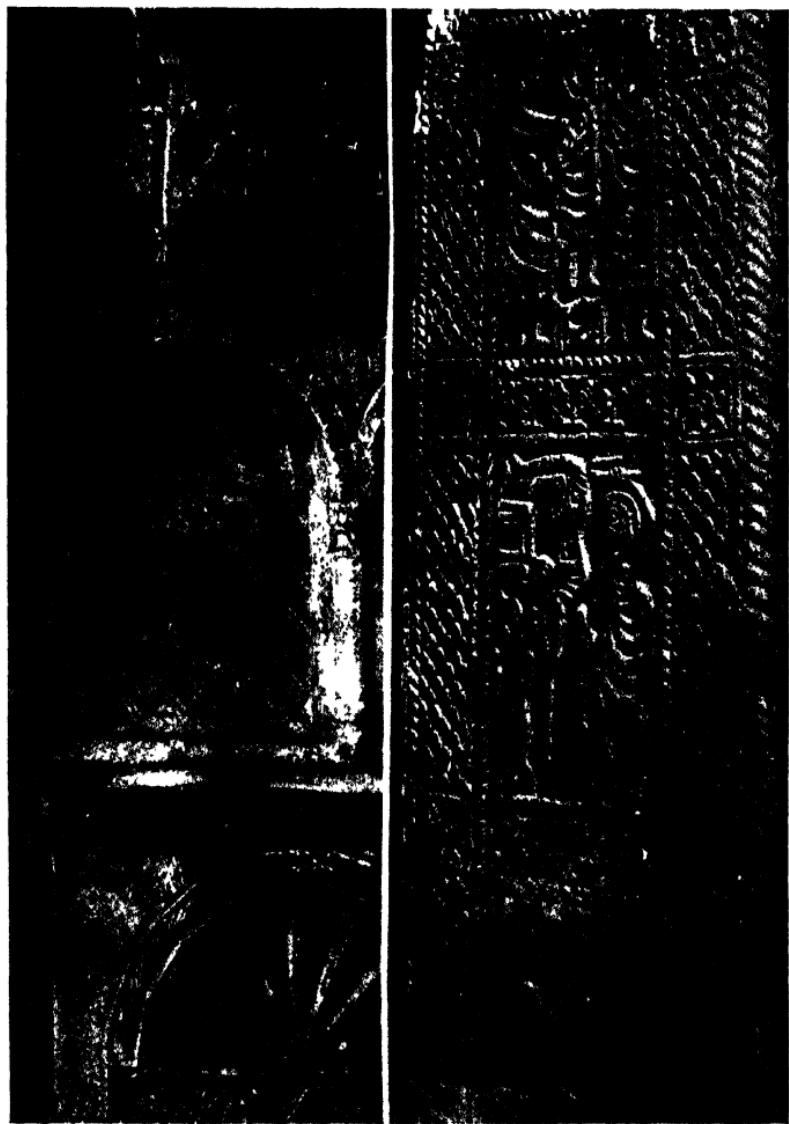
cornices and pilasters of the theatre at Merida recall Syrian and Asian prototypes in their deep undercutting and rich acanthus motives. Three capitals were recently discovered in Seville,<sup>2</sup> in a court-yard where once was a mosque, and it may now be inferred a church had stood there, before which a temple existed. Their manner belongs to the Eastern Empire as surely as the Barcelona capitals,<sup>3</sup> proceeding from a destroyed chapel of St. Michael, copy the style of Justinian's building at Constantinople, Ravenna and elsewhere. Paganism flourished side by side with all sorts of Christianity. Hosias of Cordova was the counsellor of Constantine, and Spanish bishops attended all the great Councils—from that of Nicaea onward<sup>4</sup>—and returning, endeavoured to modify what they found at home in accordance with each succeeding oecumenical and imperial pronouncement. A Syrian bishop of the Jacobite persuasion was to visit the south of Spain and dispute with S. Isidore, who converted him. S. Leander was to be ambassador in Constantinople. As Rome



(V. p. 32)

*Photo. G. G. K.*

Merida Cistern, the Dusaris-Motive



(V. pp. 31, 120)

*Photo E. H. Lowther*

Merida and Oviedo

East-Imperial and Latin-Byzantine

fell into decay and Byzance came to seem the centre of civilization there was no decline in the intercourse with the East. Like Aurelius and Trajan, Theodosius was a Spaniard, but unlike them, he never broke contact with the west, and his granddaughter was to be a chieftainess among the Visigoths there. Syrians who had carried out the Emperor's church-building among the gigantic colonnades of Baalbek, saw countrymen of their own take ship for Cartagena, Tarragona or Pamplona; in like manner Byzantines who had carved and polished for Justinian sent guild-mates to Seville or Merida; as, after another interval, to Cordova came workmen sent by the Emperor of Byzance to set the mosaic he had given for the mosque of Abd-er-Rahman. From Cartagena to Marseilles, from Denia to Spalato, from Ampurias to Ephesus, from Cadiz to Antioch and from Seville to Constantinople the ways were open and the routes frequented. Roman Spain received from all the Mediterranean and from all the countries which lie behind the coast-lands, in constant

Emperors

and  
craftsmen

Nordic  
conquerors

interchange of goods and of ideas, both objects and forms of art.

For the Hispano-Romans, the coming of the Goths created a situation in many ways very like that of the British in India. Upon the elder and completer civilization descended these tall blond men with another religion, another way of life, professional soldiers, not unkind nor unjust in intention but mentally, temperamentally a thousand years or more behind those they proceeded to govern. Brave, honest and loyal, they yet took without a doubt of their right the best of the property of the natives; they overlaid, with an uncomprehending certitude, the complicated metropolitan society with their tribal and family life, their comradeship and fealty of chiefs and king. Socially, indeed, they had many of the ways of the Empire under which they had lived for generations and of the provincial capitals and the Byzantine court where their noblest youth had been bred up; politically, they intended to leave the institutions and administration of the natives as nearly as possible as they found

them; in the matter of religion, their Arian faith, with its relentless monotheism, was doubtless scandalized by what it encountered, but the native bishops remained unpersecuted, and the native priests celebrated according to their use. The Visigoths of the Spanish conquest in the fifth century, like the English of the Indian Empire in the nineteenth, were neither uncivilized nor intolerant.

The previous history of the Visigoths was relatively short. Where it began cannot just yet be said; but the early mist rolls up for a moment to show them on the Baltic shore in the first century of our era and lifts again as they are coming down the Danube; in the second century they reach the Black Sea. There they lived with neighbours of Cimmerian and Sarmatian and Scythian stock. There they learned their art of jewellery with inlays of garnet, and a technique of twists and cloisons; their things, which were fibulas and bosses, crowns and cups, had an intricacy of pattern and subtlety of form that satisfied a life still strictly simplified, still inarticulate

in a more  
ancient  
world

Black Sea  
jewellery

The  
beast-style

in a sort of wild splendour. They learned to know there, too, the beast-style in ornament, that was to fascinate Europe from the Carolingian to the Gothic age, with its endless recurrent pursuit of wild and savage creatures, hounds that follow the deer, big fish swallowing little fish, lions in death-grapple with griffins, the pantheress that devours a horse. But that, so far as I know, the Visigoths did not bring into Europe with them as they returned.

In the third century they are found settled in Dacia; they lived as lords above the subject Dacians for more than a century. This was the age of their apostle Ulfila the Goth, himself of Cappadocian race and Byzantine consecration; and of their chief, Eaormanric, who ruled from the Black Sea up to the Baltic. Then the Huns came, and under the pressure of invasion they moved again, and movement was faster now. From the Danube to the Ebro the Visigoths passed in forty years; and only a century lies between the first treachery of Valens on the Danube and the fall of Romulus Augustulus in Rome, which left

Euric masterless to organize the Visigothic kingdom and stretch it from the Guadaluquivir to the Loire. It was in 451 that on the Catalaunian Fields the Visigoth Theodored turned back the Huns and delivered Europe from fear as, in 1571, in the Gulf of Corinth, another Spaniard, Don Juan, again delivered Europe from her fear in turning back the Turks. Between Visigoth and Hapsburg the chief difference is in time, but the better half of Spanish history lies in that thousand years.

Theodored  
and  
D. Juan  
of Austria

Into Spain the Visigoths had come as representing the Empire, to expel the Vandals, control the Suevi and practically exterminate the Alans and restore the peace of the Empire to a ravaged land. Of Ataulf their king Orosius<sup>6</sup> tells a famous story, to the effect that when he was a young man "in the first exuberance of his strength and spirits" he had hoped to make a clean sweep of Rome and all the old decaying Romanisms and be himself lord of the world—a new world, newborn out of the north. It could not be done, he found as years passed, his tameless Goths

The dream  
of Ataulf

would follow no laws, and without law the world could not live; therefore "he at least had chosen for his part to have the glory of restoring the Roman name to its old estate and increasing its potency by Gothic vigour." So he married Galla Placidia, the grand-daughter of Theodosius, with imperial Roman ceremony at Narbonne and thereafter buried his infant son in Barcelona and died there himself. But in the end his dream was fulfilled.

From Ataulf to Euric, half a century, the Visigoths were not in occupation of Spain but they ruled all Gaul; then as the West-Roman Empire was shaking and crashing down, Euric took the peninsula. In 468 he began the conquest. In 475 the Eastern Emperor recognized his independent sovereignty. Just a century later, in 568, Liuva raised to joint-kingship with himself his brother Leovigild, and died five years afterward. Leovigild, who had previously been duke of Toledo, named immediately his sons Recared and Hermengild as governors of Narbonne and Toledo. What character the Visigoths bore during

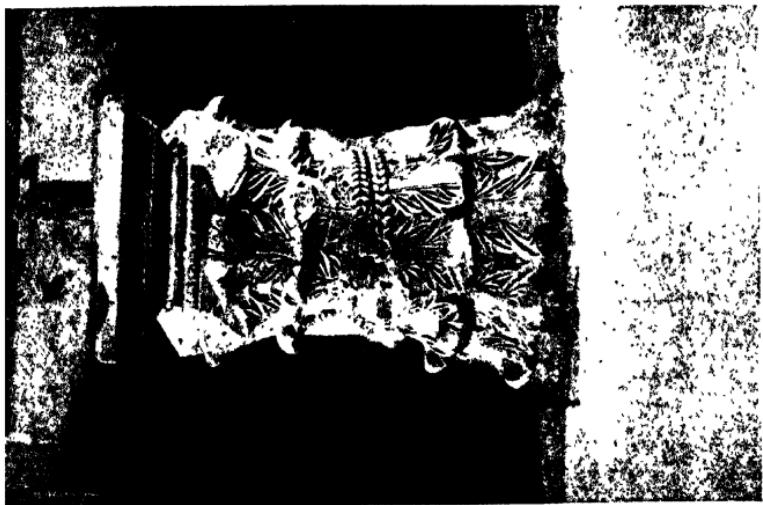
that century may best be known from Salvian,<sup>7</sup> who was a presbyter of Mar-seilles and their subject. He records, like Ataulf, that they would not be bound by treaties and pledges, but he praises without stint their chastity and sobriety, their honesty, and their kindness to the subject Romans. "The Barbarians," he says, "Heathens or Heretics though they be, are just and fair in their dealings with one another. The men of the same clan and following the same king love one another with true affection. The impurities of the theatre are unknown amongst them all." He comes back again elsewhere to the Gothic chastity, and indeed that chastity is still characteristic of the Spanish today. The marked tribal loyalty still tempers the Iberian individualism and turns it to regionalism on the political side while it strengthens the bonds and obligations of the family in private life. And the testimony to their just and faithful administration of a subject people it is well to keep on record, tending as it does to show that whatever the scandals, or wrong or cruelty

Salvian's  
testimony

that tarnished Spanish administration in the Americas and the East, they were proper to the age rather than the people.

In confirmation of this good name, another passage may be added from the worthy Marseilles priest, who lived and died in the Visigothic kingdom:

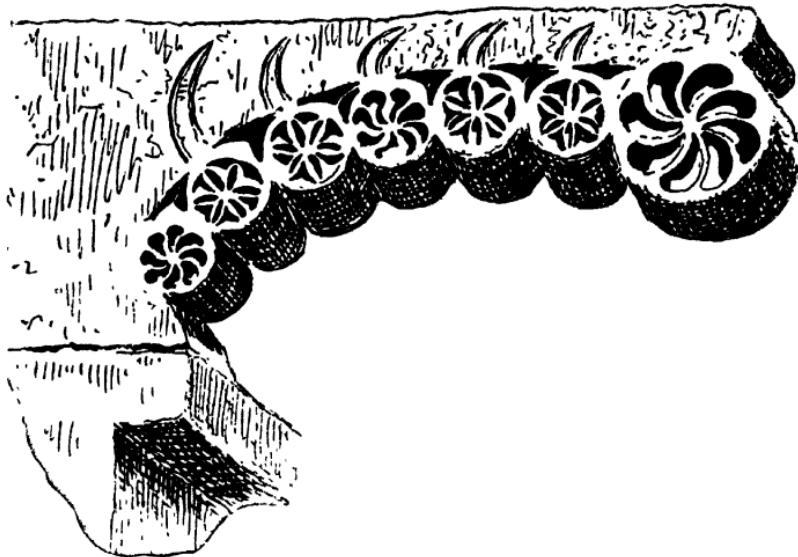
With one consenting voice the lower order of Romans put up the prayer that they may be permitted to spend their life, such as it is, alongside of the barbarians. And these were warned that our arms should not triumph over those of the Goths when our own countrymen would rather be with them than with us. . . . Although the fugitives from the Empire differ in religion, differ in speech, differ even in habit of body from the barbarians, whose very smell, if I may say so, is offensive to the Provincial, yet they would rather put up with all this strangeness among the barbarians. . . . Hence it comes to pass that a large part of Spain and not the smallest part of Gaul is filled with men Roman by birth whom Roman injustice has de-Romanized.



(V, p. 164) *Photo. G. G. K.*  
Capitals at Sahagún



(V, p. 39) *Photo. Alonso*  
Capital at Baños



(V. p. 174)

*Drawing, Gómez-Moreno*

Eaves-Bracket from Peñalba



(V. p. 34)

*Photo. Alonso*

Impost-Moulding, S. Juan de Baños

This is about how things would have stood at Tarragona or Seville: citizens of noble estate, consciously exquisite, delicately civilized, whose Catholic orthodoxy was a part of their cosmopolitan refinement, would have been found living under aliens whose script, whose speech, whose bodily constitution and the smell of the chambers when they sat at feasts therein, were strange to them and unfamiliar.

Hispano-Roman refinement

Before Leovigild was dead the armies of Justinian, who had reconquered for the Empire a large part of the west and south of the peninsula with the south-east coast, were arrested and rolled back if not expelled. The Vandals had been in Spain for twenty years. The Byzantines were there for seventy-five. The Vandals had wasted with appalling thoroughness; the Byzantines enjoyed, settled and colonized. Cartagena was a Patriarchate in obedience to the Emperor, and the Basilian monks, if they had not indeed arrived earlier, were installed during this interval. Spain derived her coenobitic ideals directly from Egypt probably, but St. Basil's Rule, as

Greek and  
Coptic  
use

well as St. Benedict's, underlies the Rule made by Isidore of Seville. In Spanish use to this day fragments of the Coptic use are conserved, but more remarkable are the Greek elements persisting in the Mozarabic rite. The primitive purity of the Arian Office, which that of Isidore superseded, is recognized in the legend that when Recared, at Toledo, submitted both service-books to the ordeal of fire, the Visigothic remained unscathed. Notwithstanding, it was abolished, and Catholic orthodoxy triumphed in the sixth century as Roman orthodoxy triumphed in the eleventh and Tridentine in the sixteenth, though in every case it went hard with Spanish tenacity.

Kingship  
at Toledo

At the very core of Spain, in Toledo, Leovigild kept his court. Wide-ruling, reconquering, taking new dignities upon him, he assumed the prerogative of issuing a gold coinage. He enhanced the kingly state, which was modelled on that of Constantinople, and the power of bishops in the Royal Council was allowed by Byzantine precedent. He married his son to a French king's daughter and that was nearly

his undoing. Ingunza was not the first French princess to make trouble, nor the last, for Clotilda, the daughter of Clovis and sister of Childebert, had already supplied a pretext for invasion, as Blanche of Bourbon when married to Pedro I was to supply another. It is likely that this poor princess of the sixth century had come south in the interests of religion and politics, like Queen Constance in the eleventh, but Toledo had less need under Leovigild of trans-Pyrenean help than in the time of Alfonso VI. She was lonely, she was powerless except with her husband. She brought no art and few clerics with her and she came into a civilization unexpectedly rich and strange. She quarrelled with her mother-in-law and she probably hated the climate. So her husband Hermengild took her to Catholic Seville to shine over a vice-regal court and there between the great Archbishop Leander and the fair, foreign queen he got himself converted and rebaptized. Whether he knew of the plot to bring about a fresh Imperial invasion is uncertain but he died after open rebellion,

*De Francia  
partió  
la niña*

S. Her-  
mengild

humiliated, under suspicion, unreconciled with his father. The story of S. Hermengild may stand to mark the right Spanish quality by now of the Visigothic monarchy and to show how Spaniards have never been able to withstand their women, and have set above all the goods of earth, even above loyalty and honour, the eternal destiny of the soul.

All the endeavours of Leovigild to conciliate the two religions were of little avail, and Recared when he succeeded set a precedent for Henry of Navarre. He became a Catholic. True, he but exchanged one set of irreconcilables for another; the Arian Visigoths, nobility and folk alike, had no mind to be converted *en masse*; the situation was however more manageable. To the Councils of Toledo came with the nobles all the bishops of Spain, who were indeed the class most completely educated, with all the Latin culture in their background. They sat and voted in the political deliberations while the laity withdrew when ecclesiastical matters came up, as happened likewise at Byzance. The king

kept his veto and his right to appoint and depose bishops.

Hitherto under the monarchy Toledo had been a northern city, but under the Catholic stimulus as the generations passed, and with great figures for Metropolitan—Isidore's pupils, Ildefonso, Eugenius, Julian—it flowered for these Spagnolized Visigoths into a hybrid culture stranger and more magical than that of the Roman-Byzantine south. Drawing freely from thence, they added what their Black Sea home had lent them of its savage splendours, its wintry ambience, its Asian, lonely, far-fetched memories. In the days of Recared or Recceswinth, as I suppose, the king and nobles no longer rode a-hunting all summer clad in such puttees and fur coats as we like to afford at some seasons for ourselves, but for the winter doubtless the ancestral costume, somewhat enriched and slightly modified, suited well the climate, wind-swept above the Tagus. The costly supple furs, the heavy blue and purple silks, the massive brilliant embroideries in green, orange and scarlet, the brooches and dress-clasps

*La  
imperial  
Toledo*

A  
gold-haired  
green-eyed  
folk

enamelled and set with gems, the strings and bosses and pendants of enormous pearls, the necklets and armlets twisted and chiselled with zig-zag and four-leaf, disc and rosette, with all the pale changing lights of sapphire and emerald flickering in pendants as they moved and wakening the fires that smouldered in garnet inlays—the soft thick touch of rich dress and the tinkle of precious metal, the clink of forged and tempered metal—these marked the way of life the nobility affected. They were the same tall slender folk whom you may see about Leon with wheaten-coloured hair and emerald eyes.

Basilican  
and

That to the Roman tradition of church-building, the basilican, they yet adhered, S. Eulalia, built in 559, S. Sebastian, built in 601, are still standing to indicate. They had however the oriental care for a beautiful ornamental surface within and without: jasper and onyx wall-casing, parcel-mosaic pavements, gilded and coffered ceilings, supplemented the marble columns and the antique or imported capitals which they preferred. Already the eastern types of

church, cruciform or Tau-shaped or like a cross inscribed, with vaulting at various levels, with dim heights and sudden sweeping corners of vault, were tried for oratories and chapels and accessory buildings, as it seems, while yet the East was experimenting with the same new forms. Precisely as to this day for its patronal feast a parish church in Seville or Saragossa will set up buffets within the sanctuary and erect an edifice behind the altar and load them not only with reliquaries and pyxes, with thuribles and candelabra, but even with silver dishes and ewers enough for a king's banquet, so the greatest splendour of these little precious Visigothic churches lay in their magnificent goldsmith's and jeweller's work. The crowns of Guerrazar are only one hoard out of a lost score, being saved from a single palatine chapel. As for the other arts, if Toledo bred no such poet as Prudentius of Saragossa nor universal master like Isidore of Seville, yet literature was in favour at palace and basilica; the kings themselves were men of taste—Recared, Chidaswinth or Reces-

Cross-churches

Crowns of  
Guerrazar

Plate II

Letters  
at court

winth—letter-writers some, or controversialists, or hagiographically disposed, like Sisebut, who wrote poetry worthy to be remembered; and the high nobility shared their tastes. Duke Claudio had been the fellow-student of Isidore under Archbishop Leander, Count Laurence possessed a famous library, while another count published *Letters*. The manuscripts in especial<sup>s</sup> were very choice and lovely; upon them converged the Byzantine, the Coptic and the Latin tradition, with Ulfilas' runes in addition, and from the school above the Tagus emerged the beautiful Toledan script which long preceded the Carolingian. The ecclesiastical society was more profoundly learned and more classical in its bias than the courtly, but even there perhaps something uncanny and northern tinged the air of the schools, since to the later Middle Age the name of Toledan stood for magic, and the university for a nursing mother of warlocks. S. Isidore, indeed, will have felt the air of the place as strange, coming up for the Councils to the lofty battlemented citadel, hanging

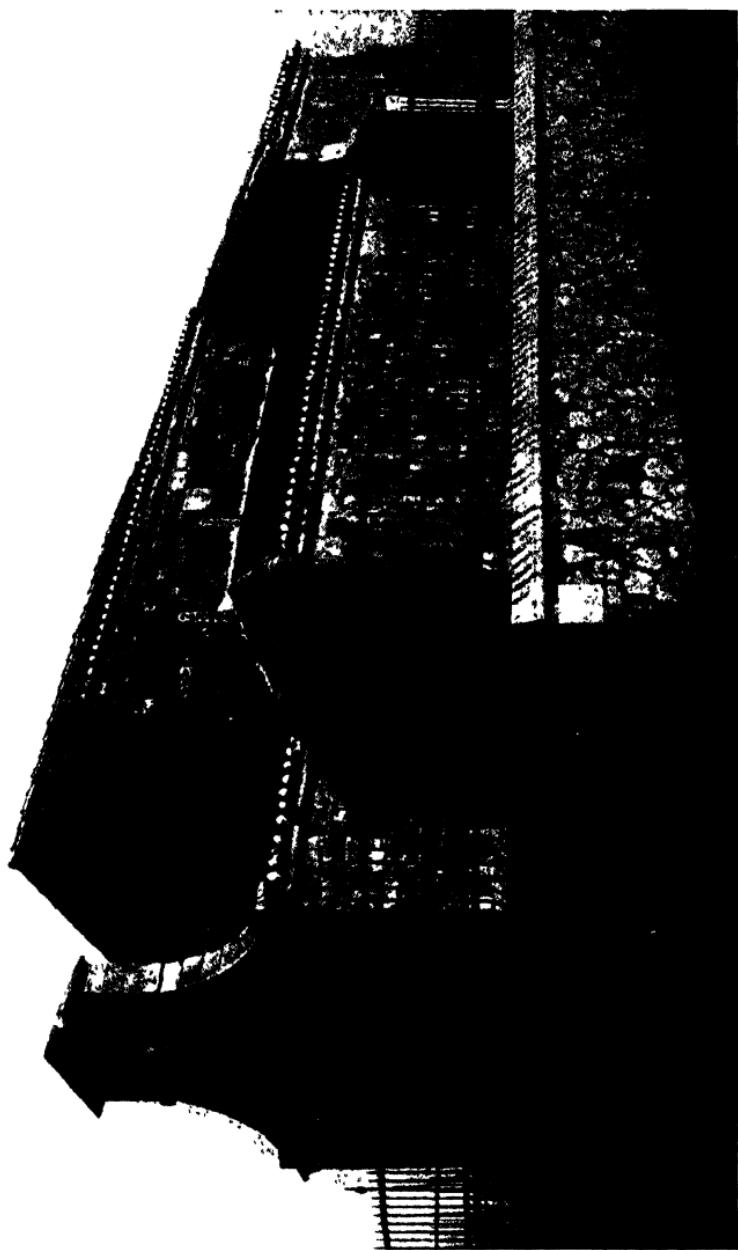


Photo *Alonso*

S. Tuan de Baños, Outside



(V. p. 37)

*Photo. Alonso*

S. Juan de Baños, Apse

blue as a king's sapphire in the windy dawns and cold twilights, voluble with bells above the rushing of the Tagus. How humane, how classic was the life of the Hispano-Romans who looked to Seville as their capital, conscious of their imperial inheritance and living at times under Imperial suzerainty or hoping so to live again, the touching pedantries of the *Etymologies* disclose. Yet for all his conscious care to mark the unbroken continuity of tradition from the antique and his calm dependence on classical sources, the venerable encyclopaedist of the early sixth century reveals much of the city and the hour which brought forth the work.

From Isidore's definitions<sup>8</sup> we can judge how Seville and Merida were unlike to Numancia or Sagunto, or indeed to Syracuse or Rome, how much liker to Bosra or Babiska, Ruweha or Palmyra. The streets are colonnaded against the sun; a royal palace is free-standing, with such pillared alleys or porches on every side as the Syrian cities have revealed to the explorer, and the sūkhs of North Africa, the bazaars

Inheritors  
of  
antiquity

Inferable  
from  
Isidore

Syrian porticos

of Stamboul, have made familiar to the tourist. So, the houses of nobles fill a city block, for they have porticoes on three sides. These porches, it must be repeated, are to be associated not with the colonnades of temples where visitors idled or slept, nor that Porch which served a philosophy for a school and supplied to it a name, but with the Syrian colonnaded streets, and the *soportales* which in tiny Spanish towns still flank the waggon-ways, for Isidore defines a portico as something rather for going through than for staying in. The roofs, too, were flat after the eastern custom, for a gable roof, *culmina*, is now rustic, he observes. On the other hand, his definition of *testudo*, a church roof, implies that if he had not looked up into domes he had heard of them. The usual fine ceiling, however, that he describes is either open-timbered and coloured, or a wooden ceiling carved, coffered, painted and gilded into an early variety of *artesonado*. Hexagonal buildings come naturally to his mind for a comparison. The *Martyrion*, built in memory of martyrs or to enshrine their

sepulchres, is defined but not, unluckily, described; that it was cruciform we cannot know with certainty. A basilica is a king's church, not necessarily a palatine chapel but not independent of a king: S. Juan de Baños and S. Tirso of Oviedo suggest themselves as instances which have never disused the name of basilica, and Naranco and Guerraizar as similar types of the custom which he assumes, that kings should have their own churches. The arch which serves in his definition is a horseshoe arch, like a bow curved in at the tips, and vaults—*i. e.*, the semi-dome of the apse—have the same curvature. The Mozarabic churches confirm, of course, his account, for vault and arch alike; precisely as the Merida window, and one from S. Ginés of Toledo, have long since confirmed the *état-civil* of the horseshoe arch as Visigothic,<sup>10</sup> secular and common. Columns may be channelled, but whether spirally or only vertically is not clear. Marble plating, like that of S. Sophia, S. Marco, and the Kahrie Djami, is fully understood: also mosaic of various sorts, some of which

The  
horse-  
shoe arch

Hellenistic  
origins

finds a parallel in the patterned floor of flints that paves the *zaguan* or entry to a Spanish *casa solar*.

Ornament

Completing this analysis of Isidore's famous descriptions of churches at Merida, Evora and elsewhere in the south, it becomes clear that the main lines of building are, at this period, imperial in the wider sense, that is, Hellenistic; churches are basilican and baptisteries polygonal. Cloisters, walls and hospices are enumerated in terms that can evoke Dar Kita and Der Siman<sup>11</sup> with the more facility because the shrine of S. Simeon Stylites is known to have been much frequented by Spanish pilgrims. Equally plain it is that decoration is conceived in eastern terms, as applied ornament, rather than as an intellectual ratio of measure and proportion or mass and material. Mosaic and paintings, colour in patterns with gilding, columns of precious onyx and jaspers, thin slabs of polished marble for overlaying, alabaster, probably pierced, for screens, with lamps and precious vessels, make up the details afforded by the hagiographer

Paul of Merida<sup>12</sup> and historians like the Pacense and John Biclarense. Polychrome and priceless—that is what the formula amounts to, or very nearly.

Isidore composed his *Etymologies* in 623, and Paul the Deacon his *Lives of the Emeritan Fathers* only ten years later. Then Swinthila was ruling, who consecrated his crown at Guerrazar; at any rate at the latter time he was still alive. The monarchy had nearly a century yet to run. But in the very decade of the Fourth Council of Toledo where Isidore presided, Syria fell into the hands of the Arabs. Doubtless Europe felt the pressure and discomfort of the refugees. Certainly, from this time on, the Spanish realm felt a difficulty with the Jews and laws were made and remade to prevent admixture of the peoples and contamination of the faith. Receswinth, who was a great ruler, though he is better remembered today, perhaps, for his crown than for his code, was pre-occupied for a quarter of a century with two chief cares. This of the Jews was the lesser, and the other was how to fuse his

poly-  
chrome and  
priceless

Seventh-  
century  
refugees

The last  
kings: .

Christian subjects into one and make of Goths and Hispano-Romans a single people. The kings who followed him took up the task: Wamba, though he had already to repel an Arab invasion, Erwig and Egica who were essentially legists, at the last Witiza and Roderick. Out of the legends that hang about the name of Roderick and the rumours that were revived when a pogrom was practicable or a general expulsion expedient one thing may be made out and believed—that the invasion from the south was welcomed and assisted by some at least among the Jewish residents and the Hispano-Roman aristocracy. Recared had changed his religion to bring about peace. Chidaswinth had fought civil discord, open rebellion, and the sedition of *émigrés* in Septimania. Receswinth his son had modified and approximated Roman and Gothic codes, welding them into what was to be the *Fuero Juzgo*, the law of Spain forever. Furthermore, those rights and customs which constitute the law of daily life, which Ataulf had called “the laws without which a land would cease to

be a commonwealth," lived on, to emerge from time to time throughout the Middle Age as those Usages which were more sacred than any other law, which kings swore to protect and nobility died to enforce. Yet the white-skinned princes who carried their fair heads so high, the blue-eyed, broad-browed rulers who were from the outset as proud as Charlemagne was to be in preserving whatever might be saved from the shipwreck of antiquity, were still to the natives aliens. Their flesh was too pale: of their outlandish speech not one familiar word was incorporated to survive.<sup>13</sup>

their  
rule

The kings of the Visigoths, as Dozy observed long ago,<sup>14</sup> were no worse than others; it was to save the case for God's justice that priestly chroniclers blackened their faces. Such ruin as fell on Spain was God's judgement on the king, or else there was no justice in heaven above. Our logic is likely to grasp the other horn of the dilemma. We ask, "What did they deserve?" These kings were very like others, or a little better, strong men of a tempered courage, not covetous, not mean-

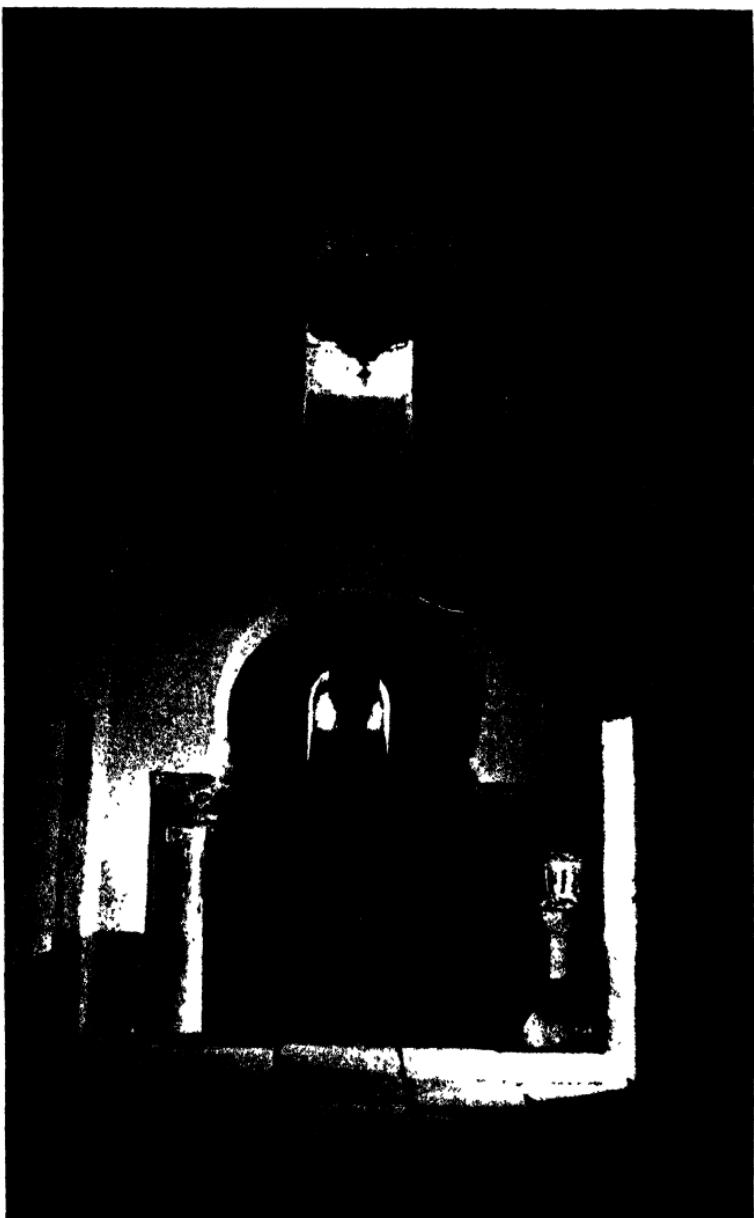
their  
character

minded, just, splendid, pious, chaste. They were Spaniards now: silently, invisibly, the land had taken them. They had the irony, the individualism, the terrible passion of religion, the adust intellectual detachment that are the birth-marks of Spain.

Merida  
Museum

Of the churches of that age, three at least are standing and intelligible, besides one which is situated in France; others survive disguised by rebuilding; a ruin, a crypt, a handful of remote little chapels that nobody sees, fill up the tale. Before coming to them, however, it is advisable to consider just what style and what degree of skill were really discoverable in the marvels that moved to ecstasy Paul of Merida and his successors. This may be done in Merida itself.

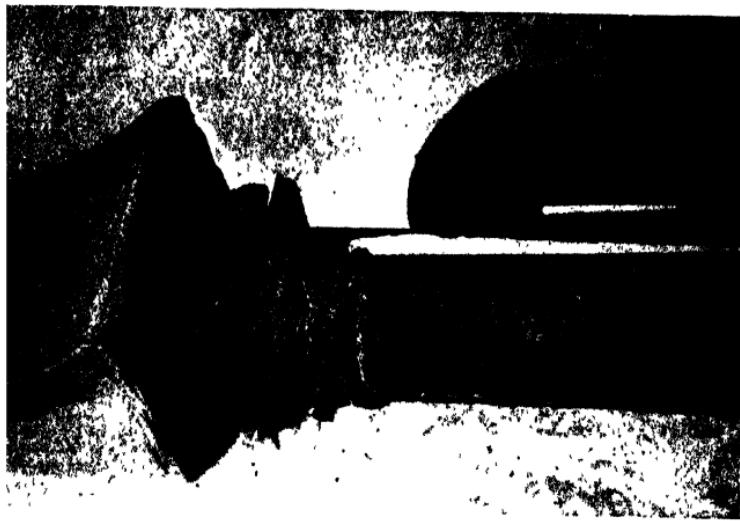
In the museum, it is necessary to remember, are only remnants, the last and the worst. The best pieces would have been used instantly, and many times over; would have been burned with mosque or



(V. p. 47)

*Photo E. H. Louver*

S. Comba de Bande, Interior



(V. p. 173) *Photo G. G. K*  
Santiago de Peñalba  
Mozarabic Capital



(V. p. 45) *Photos E. H. Lowder*  
S. Comba de Bande  
Visigothic Capitals

with church, as the city was taken and retaken; or discarded from palaces or from the patios or portals of *casas solariegas*, recut, used up in town houses and farm buildings. In one room, however, are collected with a decent piety capitals of many sorts, ranging from something indistinguishable from the pagan-inspired down through stunted sprouts and spindling spirals to the abortions of some era of utter abandonment, mixed with a few lovely Moslem forms based perhaps on the Coptic, and then rising up to what looks like fourteenth-century Catalan, though I believe that it is likewise of eastern origin.

A few broken columns are here, channelled, partly vertical and partly spiral; the worst of all this stuff being equivalent to that in the Ciborium of S. Eleucadius, produced in the ninth century at Ravenna. A pair of pilasters or jambs, however, are carved with a palm-tree highly stylized which appears in Syrian work; and three other similar stones bear forms of the vine-scroll and grapes on one face and the lily-pattern on another, two of them being

Fragments

Cf. Dieula-  
foy (Figs.  
108, 168)

Shrinkage  
of the  
capital

topped with clumsy capitals where the two rows of leafage and the volutes are shrunken within a long rectangular silhouette; and the third being finished at each end with a six-petalled star inscribed within a circle while a twist separates the middle from these devices. Another pilaster, corresponding to those at the cistern, may be reserved for the moment. Though these vine-motives are sadly worn, and the stone is unkind, they are so beautiful and rich in conception that they must be attributed to the seventh century, the best of Cattaneo's<sup>15</sup> eighth-century pieces being far more barbarous.

A second class of marbles consists of plaques or slabs in series, that may have served for chancel-screens, or for sepulchral use. One set found near S. Eulalia simulates a colonnade or a niched sarcophagus in which the central bay is round-arched and the other two gabled, the heads of all three being filled in with a fluted shell, the screen on the left consisting of vine wreaths, the central of a lattice, and the right of nine rectangles filled with birds, like the Ravenna ambons,<sup>16</sup> which is quite as fine as

Archbishop Agnello's of the early sixth century. Another set is filled in with the imbricated pattern which appears first (if I recall rightly) at Warka; the tympana are plain and the arches decorated with simple incised patterns of lozenge or triangle; here some of the tiny shafts have spiral flutings. On a third set the arches are decorated with fine herring-bone, the tympanum is fluted in eight sections, and the lower part filled with two sets of arcades that interlace, carrying roses, or else with forms intended for trees and young sprouts. These last slabs are wretchedly executed: the first named, however, are delicious, and in one case are framed with horseshoe arches. The famous little ajimez window, of twin horseshoe arches, stands in this room, and the decorative motives thereon differ from any so far enumerated, but only as things of like kind can differ among themselves.

What was once the citadel, and later the castle of the Order of Santiago, is now a half-ruinous walled mass of building by the river near the bridge, which contains in a

Parapet-  
slabs.  
Plate V

*La Alcasaba*

Garden

garden a subterranean cistern. A loggia in the garden is carried on columns, partly antique, where along with various sorts of capitals, and shafts of which two are twisted, may be seen two magnificent imperial capitals, unlike. One of these lays very delicate leaves rather close against the bell, and should be compared with the carving of a capital from Grado, in Cattaneo's drawing,<sup>17</sup> which is finished with a twist, and with Miss Lowthian Bell's photograph<sup>18</sup> from Aleppo, these being all indeed very certainly of Syrian inspiration and their epoch the sixth century.

and cistern  
Plate IV

In the vaulted cistern, thirty-odd feet underground, water stands at the river level; a wide, double staircase leads up from the tank, under barrel-vaults which end against pilasters. That at the foot is crowned by a late-Roman capital; half-way up, the stair emerges in a wide doorway, framed with huge posts of marble under two lintels which once were pilasters, their rectangular shrunken capitals still preserved, with a central post uncarved, and with one jamb corresponding to the other

sculpture. Hence a stair at right angles goes on up into daylight. Here the outer door is flanked by two more pilasters; all are carved with a vine motive, pairs of grape-clusters set within each wreath, on the principal face, and up the side a column is chiselled in relief, as on slabs that Professor Butler<sup>19</sup> noted in Northern Syria, one with the date A.D. 429-30. A pilaster in the museum belongs, as already said, with this series. More than one hand worked on the series, but the lintel and jamb where the double staircase discharges are not only the finest in workmanship, they are hard to match anywhere. This is work of a finished master, Syrian, indisputably; the Dusaris-motive<sup>20</sup> is not in the least Persian, nor yet what we know as Byzantine.

The only way to understanding Visigothic sculpture is to spread out the plates of *Monumentos Arquitectonicos* with those of de Vogué, and open Cattaneo alongside. The quatrefoil motive<sup>21</sup> of Roman floor mosaics at Lugo and Italica reappears, carved in a flat relief, in fragments from S. Ginés of Toledo, and, better managed, in

Dusaris-motive

Add  
Kingsley  
Porter

Plate VII the impost-moulding of S. Juan de Baños, while a slab from S. Ginés uses the lily and rose of the Cividale font. Some stones at Cordova relate themselves on the one hand to the window at Merida, on the other, to Syrian lintels. A frieze in Merida Museum <sup>22</sup> shows a copy of the Syrian motives.

In viii c., dated work, The inner arch carving at the Baptistry of Cividale, dated 737, attempts what the master of the cistern could do beautifully; closer to the excellence of Merida is the border of Theodota's sarcophagus, A. D. 720, at Pavia.

Spain shows up well

The upshot is that work in Spain after the barbarian conquest owes everything to the Eastern Empire, and is better than contemporary native work in Italy, down to the Carolingian epoch. From France there is nothing to show but jewellery. What happened in Spain when other countries were Carolingian will be seen later.



Of the extant churches, the most ancient in type is the ruined basilica of Segobriga,

at Cabeza del Griego, that was discovered in 1760 and excavated in 1789, but the ruin by now is nearly consummated and only walls and drawings remain to supplement the accounts of careful ecclesiologists, beginning with a reference of Ambrosio de Morales in his Chronicle.

Segobriga<sup>1</sup> was a Celtiberian city, and then a Roman; later it was a Visigothic see. The names of various bishops are known, one of whom, Nigrinus, died in the sixth century. Among the many sepulchres found in the ruined church was a stone that said:

HIC SVNT SEPVLCHRA SANCTORVM  
NIGRINVS EPISV—SEFRONIVS EPISC

Now Nigrinus died in 550. That should make out the church as sixth-century at the latest. Other stones are carved in the characteristic Visigothic style, one of which bears a horseshoe arch; and the labarum and monogram of Christ, so much used in early Aragon, are found already here. When archaeologists were digging on the hillside, for the Roman amphitheatre, a

Segobriga  
Fig. 2

vi c.

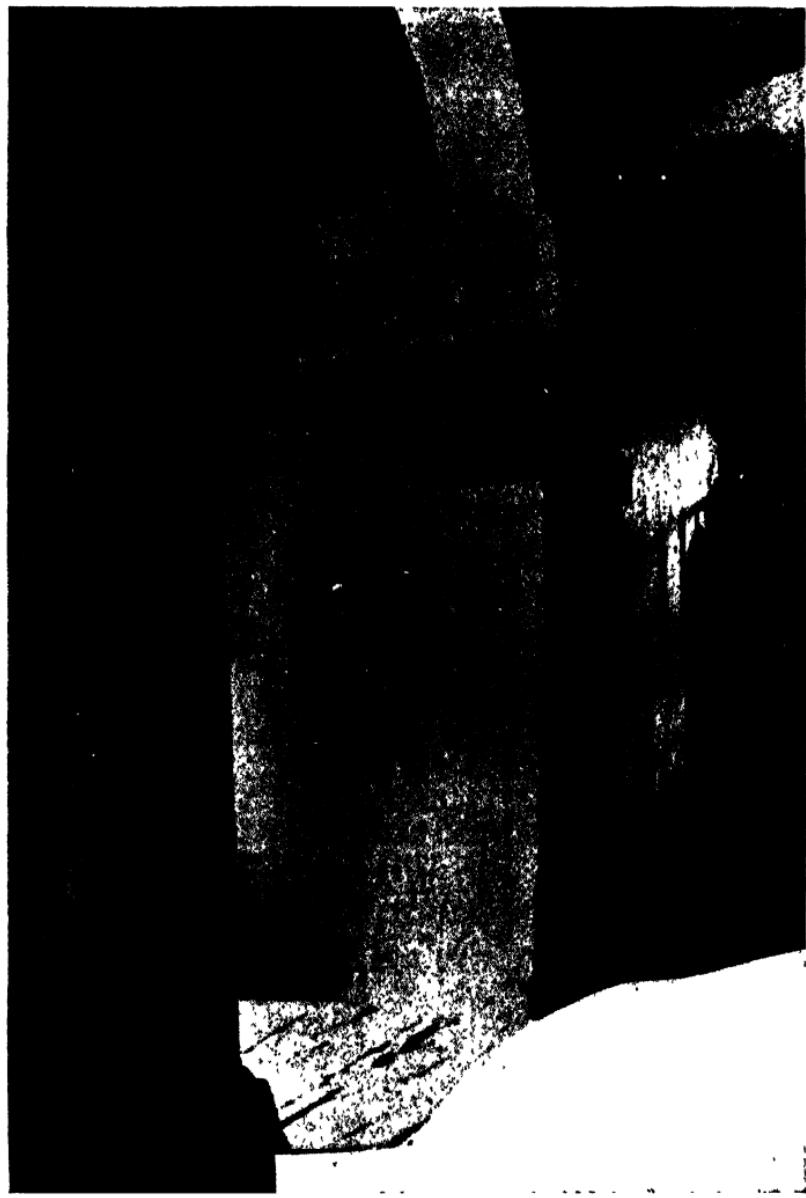
Labarum

Segobriga few years ago, they found in the midst of the arena a huge heap of ashes and charred remains that included articles of furniture and wearing apparel with bronzes and ornaments that seemed Roman and Visigothic: the conclusion is that when the Moors arrived the town burnt all its treasures after the example of Sagunto long before. At any rate when a document of Uclés in 1228 refers to Cabeza del Griego, it knows only a wretched village.

Roderick  
dead,  
the town  
commits  
suttee

The church was basilican, Tau-shaped, with three aisles, a single horseshoe apse of curious ovoid form; the eastern members being strung out southward and east of the nave, subdivided by piers and arches of the same form. Cornide, in the eighteenth century, may have been right in thinking he surveyed a crypt or lower church, with its precious burials, and Brescia<sup>2</sup> affords an eighth-century parallel very close indeed with its horseshoe apse and slight projection at the southeast.

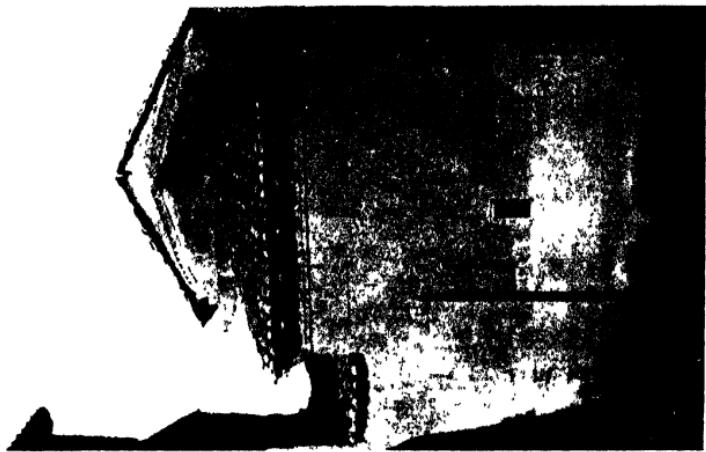




(V. p. 54)

*Photo. Gómez-Moreno*

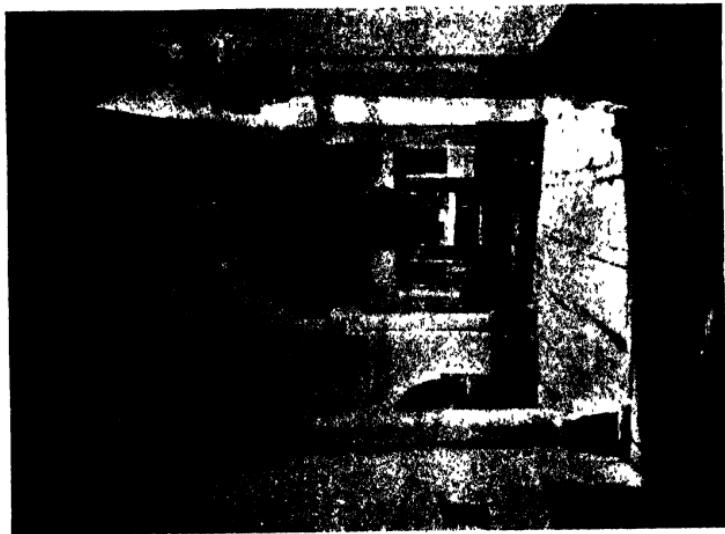
S. Pedro de la Nave, Central Piers



*I foto. G. G. K.*

(V. p. 166)

Cruciform and Basilican Types, Nave and Escalada



*Photo Gómez-Moreno*

(V. p. 52)

S. Juan de Baños<sup>3</sup> was founded in 661, by Receswinth, who had been cured of the stone by the waters there. With a quaint scientific piety Spanish chemists have analyzed the spring and found that his recovery was, as the king himself felt indeed, rather by way of a miracle. Their formula however cannot discredit the cure, only discourage other patients. A commemorative stone above the apse-arch, many times published, gives the facts and may be thus translated:

Precursor of the Lord, Martyr, Baptist John, take in eternal donation this basilica built for thee, which I, devout, Receswinth the king, I myself, a lover of thy name, dedicated to thee, building and endowing it at my own expense and within my proper heritage in the era 699, the tenth year after that in which was counted the tenth of my father Chidaswinth, and the third of my glorious reign.

The authenticity of the stone cannot be disputed, nor indeed that of the church. The only argument of weight ever urged

S. Juan  
de Baños

Plate IX

A. D. 661

Baños  
*Argu-  
mentum  
ad Francos*

against it was that in France no such good seventh-century churches could be found, and this argument is valid only for a Frenchman. Parts of the edifice that were ruinous have disappeared, and repairs in the eighteenth century involved some rebuilding of the nave walls and the west window, perhaps also the porch. But the history of the little sanctuary is pretty continuous, especially since the Renaissance, and the whole style is incompatible with any epoch more recent than the seventh century.

Fig. 3

The small basilica consists, at present, of a high nave on four horseshoe arches, a pair of aisles, three square apses and a square west porch beyond the nave. Of the eight columns, the easternmost pair stand free, but close to the apse arch. Their place is taken by pilasters at the west.

The capitals, though varied and enriched, belong to a marked type that reappears simplified, in Receswinth's crown of Guerazar, and more than once, somewhat modified, in S. Roman and S. Eulalia of Toledo: the leaves in two rows are rather thick and

rather straight, and for volutes and caulinuli a branching motive is substituted that gives four volutes on every face.<sup>4</sup> It may be said positively that while not all Visigothic capitals are of this form, all Spanish capitals of this form are Visigothic. Their lineage is as pure as that of the Dukes of Medinaceli: innumerable capitals of the same sort, still serving in the mosque at Cordova and in S. Eulalia at Merida, show direct descent from a pagan Greek-Iberian type of which a perfect instance preserved at Merida was engraved for *Monumentos Arquitectonicos* and the parent of that was the Corinthian of the Monument of Lysicrates.<sup>5</sup> Somewhat the same form was sketched by Professor Butler in the temple at Is-Sanamen.

Bases and a regular, well-moulded abacus are uniform throughout S. Juan de Baños. The east window is of horseshoe form filled with a pierced screen, and the west window was once a horseshoe ajimez. The porch and its horseshoe opening are original, but the west door may once have been only a grated window, which revealed the interior

Capitals  
Plate VI

Plate III

Baños to the devout while protecting it from marauders, the like of which is not uncommon in roadside shrines.

Original form So far so good: but while the central apse is covered with a barrel-vault of horse-shoe form, the side apses have fifteenth-century ribbed vaulting and reveal on their outer walls the springing of barrel-vaults like that of the central apse, and a pair of diagonal buttresses behind. Excavations at the close of the last century showed foundations belonging to the original side apses, lying to north and south, and in front of these what must have been an eastern transept. The form, then, was not simply "basilican," rectangular, as in a Romanesque church of such insignificance it would have been.

For insignificant it was except for the rich marbles that Visigoths employed for decoration and by its situation out of the way of the main roads it escaped the Arab raids. It is barely mentioned in the twelfth century, the thirteenth and the fifteenth. The station is a railway junction as happens, or few tourists would have

heard thereof, and even so, not many stop between trains at Venta de Baños to walk a mile or two across the yellow plain to a clay-washed hillside. I have heard larks that hung in sunlight above the ripened wheat when the light had left the grain, but the village is poor and no more used to foreigners than a thousand years ago, for the road went, I think, a little farther to the west. Morales, however, came there in his *Viaje Sacro*<sup>6</sup> and described, as did the historian Mariana, the inner walls as overlaid with precious marbles. The like may be admired in Constantinople, at S. Sophia (VI century), at the Kahrie Djami (XV c.) and the Tulip Mosque (XVIII c.), to select only three instances where the beauty of colour, of tone and above all of texture has been prized above pattern or representation. This is not a western way of feeling. It is not certain however that either this feeling, or the austere monotheism of the Arian faith, with its preference of symbols over representation, may rightly be held to show even a vague fundamental bias of the Visigoths

Larks  
over corn

Precious  
marbles

and  
allegorical  
symbols

Baños

toward aniconic art, parallel with that which kept Arab and Jewish art away from such forms of life as religion permitted to be portrayed in Persia.

Successive  
travellers  
testify

When Sandoval saw S. Juan de Baños it was cruciform, and by his measurements of the aisle which ran across between the altars and the body of the church, the dimensions can all be worked out. There were five chapels, the central being the largest and the two farthest the lowest. Early in the eighteenth century came D. Antonio Ponz, a satisfactory traveller who recorded so well that often we can understand what he did not: he refers to "the *espadaña* [bell-arch] that there is at the foot of the principal door, where is preserved a portico with columns, rather ruinous." Lastly Quadrado' wrote, from personal inspection also: "The body of the church is preceded by an atrium [cloister or portico in Spanish ecclesiology] eight feet wide, today almost utterly destroyed." There may be some doubt whether the principal door was situated at the end of the nave or in the western wall of the transept,

Fig. 4

opening on a colonnaded vista, but everything else is plain and nothing unprecedented except the abnormally wide spaces of eastern wall originally intervening between the apses. That may not pass for a vagary. The foundation was a perfect square. Upon the wide eastern transept abutted a colonnade that entirely surrounded the nave, continuing the north-and-south lines of apse and transept, and containing, at the west, an open porch looking into the sanctuary. Thus conceived, S. Juan de Baños is seen as a normal development from the classical. Parallels are to be found. Professor Butler supplies one in the chapel at Kefr Finsheh.<sup>8</sup> S. Menas at Salonica shows the same disposition of a portico that abuts on a wide eastern member, and that, says M. Millet,<sup>9</sup> belongs to the Hellenistic tradition. It was as easy for a Visigoth to know Salonica as for an Englishman. Doubtless many reflecting upon Baños have been haunted by Texier's plan of S. Sergius at Dighour, with side porches running up against the east end: this may have been first built

Colonnade

Plate VIII

Fig. 1

Baños

early in the sixth century. A better parallel is found in the church at Usunlar,<sup>10</sup> built 735, which sets an open arcade along the sides communicating with eastern chambers, and continuing as a narthex across the front, the central bay opening by a wide low arch outside. The Visigoths, who allowed only a single apse, moved over their flanking chambers that served as sacristies to the ends of the transept, and indeed the plan of Segobriga shows the same determination to isolate the apse. The side apses, subordinated, as Sandoval perceived, were not chapels, but, like the barrel-vaulted side chambers of Peñalba, true sacristies, corresponding to prothesis and diaconicon. This left the central apse isolated and alone for the worship of the Alone. So the architect of the King Receswinth, and the architect of the Catholicos John Odznezi, starting in imagination from about the same point, came upon solutions very like in plan. The Visigoths never, so far as I know, were able to build a dome, and they used timber for roofing where practicable; moreover this

Armenian  
parallels



(V. p. 48)

S. Comba de Bande

*D. Angel del Castillo*



(V. p. 59)

The Baptistry at Tarrasa

*Photo. Mas*



(V. p. 59)

The Lantern, Baptistry, Tarrasa

*Photo. G. G. K.*

votive chapel was always, as said before, insignificant.



S. Comba de Bande<sup>11</sup> is a tiny cruciform granite church in southern Galicia, with equal arms, and square projecting apse, all barrel-vaulted, and a square central member where the builders if they had been able might have liked to rest a dome. They had to close it with a simple groined vault. Four horseshoe arches hold it up, and that which opens on the sanctuary rests on antique marble columns. These shafts can be traced to the Roman baths of Bande near by, but the capitals are Visigothic, two of them of the familiar Greek type, and the other two Corinthian. When Christians fled from Guadix in the eighth century they fetched hither the body of S. Torquato, and his sarcophagus stands yet in an arm of the cross like the sarcophagi in the chapel of Galla Placidia; but documentary evidence seems to throw back the building into the seventh century.

S. Comba  
de Bande

Plate XI

Bande

History

Under Alfonso the Great in 872 a conqueror named Odoario, the same who re-founded Orense, gave to his nephew, the deacon Adonyo, a site on the banks of the Limia with the churches founded long since, one dedicated to Mary Ever Virgin and the other to S. Columba, V.M. It was two hundred years and more since these were founded, they were dark and dirty, he made the donation that they might be cleaned up and the town peopled. That makes of them seventh-century building, raised, to be sure, among the Suevi but not far away from that metropolitan church of Orense, consecrated to S. Martin in the sixth century, which Gregory of Tours called a marvellous work. Adonyo gave the place to S. Rosendo to establish there a double monastery, and cleared his title with the foregoing account. Compostella and the Gallegan magnates competed for the possession, a pious lady ran away with papers, and the story of the title-deeds is long and entertaining. This all simply means that S. Comba was not, like S. Juan de Baños, an isolated sanctuary,

but a place established and well attended,<sup>12</sup> with ties throughout Galicia and beyond.

The church is small, as are many Eastern churches, and niched into the hillside; it had doors opening from either side of the eastern arm, and on the south a porch, and once a chapel occupied the southwest angle, where the arch that opened into the transept may still be seen, blocked up, and on the nave wall a moulded cornice or string-course; a stone says: "*Esta capilla fundo y dotado Caspar Rodriguez de Ak . . . . Abadesa Sta. Comba A. . . . A. D. . . .*" It serves still to prove that, as in many Spanish duplex monasteries, a woman ruled the foundation.

Inside, a cornice runs below the springing of the vaults, and a like one around the lantern above the arches, at the level of the window-sills; it is decorated with a rude hatching |||| // / and the same pattern serves for the imposts at the angles; but the stringcourse in the apse is a lovely leaf-and-grape design. All the arches have the horseshoe form and so I think have the barrel-vaults also, but not, as I believe, the

Cruciform  
Fig. 5

Plate X

Possibly  
xii c.  
restoration

Bande little windows;<sup>13</sup> a slab closes the apse window, carved with the imbricated pattern. The central member is a true lantern, in which the angle of the groining comes down to the stringcourse, as plainly as in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. Seen within, the likeness to that type of cross-church is unmistakable, but outside the view from beyond the east face reveals the architect's interest in the type which piles up roofs at successive levels—the sort of construction which determined the form of S. Vitale at Ravenna, and of the group of buildings at Tarrasa, and of innumerable churches in Armenia and Asia Minor. On the effect of gables rising one above another, M. Millet<sup>14</sup> hazards a comment prompted by the Kato Panagia at Arta and supported by Chor-wirap in Armenia and King Cormak's chapel at Cashel: the eastern aspect of S. Comba illustrates it as well.

The source of the architecture and the epoch of the foundation are not, of course, matter for discussion, but there is a question whether S. Comba as it stands may

Plate XIV

not be Asturian work of the ninth or tenth century, or whether it is really Visigothic building. The answer is that tenth-century remains from Villanueva close by and a chapel at Celanova built by S. Rosendo early in the tenth century are fundamentally different from this, as will appear when S. Miguel de Celanova is discussed. The horseshoe arches, if you trace them, have not the Mozarabic curve. The quality of the granite building is better than that of the Reconquest. The presence of the hatched ornament which recurs in the Camara Santa proves nothing, for in that form it is known both east and west; so with the vine-and-grape design. Moreover—and this is easier to recognize than to define—there is at S. Comba a clarity and logic in the building indicative of the architect's state of mind, which is absent from the more difficult work of the Reconquest.

Analysis  
quantitative

and  
qualitative



One surprising thing discoverable in the *Etymologies* is that Isidore feels about

Space-composition

architecture as enclosed space, and thinks his buildings from within.<sup>15</sup> This consciousness, of which the Greeks had none, may have been begotten in the great Hellenistic cities, and born at S. Sophia when Anthemius and Isidore poised their dome and bent their exedrae. It has been so long forgotten that the very name of it is unrecognizable, and space-composition means nothing to American architects. But it was understood by the builders of Kasr-ibn-Wardan and Kalat Siman, of S. Comba and S. Pedro de la Nave.

S. Pedro de la Nave

S. Pedro<sup>16</sup> stands in the province of Zamora, a little out of the way. The proof of its Visigothic character is partly historical and partly morphological; it has been stated and summed up by Sr. Gómez-Moreno as follows:

To S. Pedro in 902 Alfonso III gave possession of Valdeperdices, which is still a dependency; then it was a priorate of Celanova; both these circumstances are confirmed by a pact made in 1222 between the abbot of that great monastery and the Archdeacon of Za-

mora. . . . Finally it came to be a dependency of the Cluniac foundation at Zamora. . . . It is a work of the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. To suppose it erected under the Moslem dominion or before the Christian frontier was secured along the Duero by the repeopling of Zamora in 893, would be absurd. A concrete dilemma remains: it was raised either under the Goths or between 893 and 902. Of churches of the latter epoch, plenty exist, well-known; but you cannot compare them with S. Pedro and conclude the dates to be near. In them, the material is rough stone, brick, or earth; in S. Pedro it is Roman ashlar, even the vaults. In them ornament is wanting, or is barbarous, of a Moslem character, or taken from Visigothic churches; in S. Pedro it is made for the place, abundant, and assimilable to Italian work of the seventh and eighth centuries. There the horseshoe arches show the Mussulman type; here they are identical with those of S. Juan de Baños and S. Comba. There the epigraphy is Mozarabic; here, Visigothic.

Pre-  
sumptive

and direct

evidence

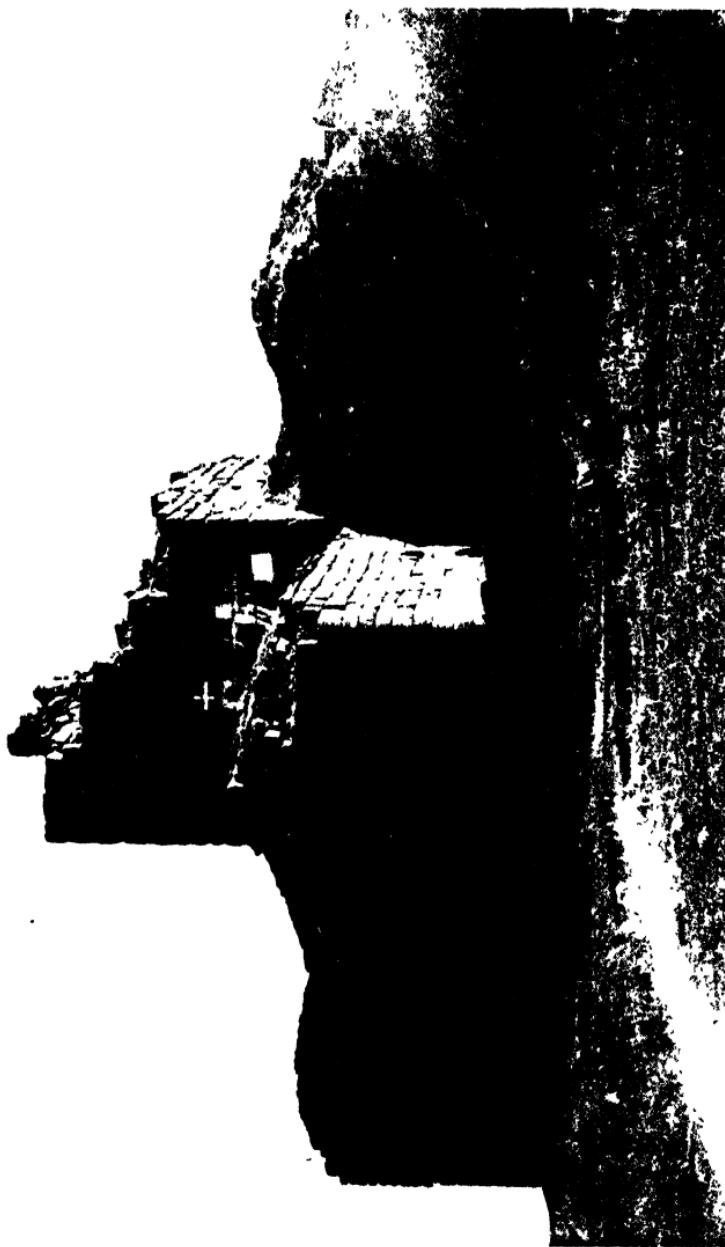
Nave      Sr. Gómez-Moreno explored the place for himself, and his plans and elevations indicate, at the west end, what was the original church: this conjectural restoration its present condition will permit, and his photographs confirm. On a plan which is a modification of the cross-inscribed, the apse projects eastward and two square side-porches continue the transept-arms at a lower level; oblong chambers flank the sanctuary, but westward, in the nave, as with many Greek churches, the walls are broken through to leave pilasters and allow the western side chambers to serve as aisles. The nave stood probably at the same height as the eastern arm, though now it is about as high as the apse; and the central crossing, like that of S. Comba, will have carried a lantern of groined vaulting.

Fig. 6

Disposition

Plate XIII

An identical disposition to mark the cross in the outside view of the church, is met by devices so similar in the octagon of Viran Sheher and the octagon at Maden Sheher called No. 8 by Miss Lowthian Bell,<sup>17</sup> that it is not inconceivable S. Pedro had once like these a west porch no wider



(V p 68)

S. María de Melque

*Photo Gómez-Morón*



(V. p. 69)

*Photo. Gómez-Moreno*

Apse at Melque, Arches and Impost-Mouldings

than the nave and much lower, corresponding to the apse and giving a silhouette comparable to that of S. Cristina de Lena.

The eastern compartments are all barrel-vaulted; the nave had always a timber roofing, apparently. Over the sanctuary and each porch, chambers exist, inaccessible except by a ladder: the Asturian churches will supply many other instances of this arrangement and the earliest which I know is that in the Tychaion at Is-Sanamen—much posterior are those at Resapha-Sergiopolis and in S. Sophia of Ochridia.<sup>18</sup> It would seem that, as in some Syrian churches, the west door was omitted; all the structural arches show a horseshoe form and a Visigothic curve; so do the windows of the apse, but not the portals of the porches, which were probably remade in the twelfth century. The flanking chambers open to the choir and eastern arm of the cross by little windows of three lights, carried on two colonnettes; and it appears that the western aisles had windows likewise, but larger, communicating with the crossing. Columns, with

Eastern  
parallels

Nave base, capital and abacus richly carved, sustain the sanctuary arch and the high transverse arches of the crossing, the impost being carried back along the crossing pier, and below this another band set in.

Plate XII The stone is neither the local slate nor the quartz-breccia of Zamora, but a very fine sandstone, between yellow and reddish, similar to the Salamanca stone, fetched from a quarry five leagues off across the Duero. Now in the tenth century the Duero bridge was down, on the Roman road, and it could not have been carried thence.

The Duero Bridge

c. 740

This choice material gave an opportunity to the master-carver and his chisel betrays him as someone of strange and outlandish experience. The capitals of the crossing are trapezoidal in shape, about half as thick as wide at the top and sharp-edged, more marked than those of the church of Aurona<sup>19</sup> at Milan. The earliest work is the frieze that runs along the choir and all the capitals and imposts connected with the east end; in the midst of scrolls, crosses and interlacing arches living figures may be made

out: a man with a lance, a horseman and a little creature who rises into the space behind a disk, all about equivalent for barbarism to the work of the Baptistry of Calixtus. To this period may belong also the lower band about the crossing, with spiral, rosette, star, helix, and all the forms that Syria had employed, which de Vogüé published and Amador de los Rios identified among Visigothic remains chiefly at Toledo. The other work, however, about the crossing, breaks into rich scrolls enclosing lambs, birds pecking, and peacocks, with human heads in the leafage; two capitals repeat the same style, more splendidly, with heads set against the shell-shape of a niche, and busts that bear a cross: the other two depict the sacrifice of Isaac, and Daniel in the lions' den, with apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, Philip and Thomas. It is strange not to find S. James here instead of two quite Asiatic and legendary apostles, but like drift in a current they show whence this work comes. By the same token, S. Thomas carries the book of his Acts—that legendary Apostolic liter-

Early  
carving

Plate III

Eastern  
themes

Nave ature for which Priscillian died and which was never quite repudiated by his disciples at the First Council of Toledo. The capital of the great arch carries a row of five horse-shoe arches diminishing in the two angles to fit the space; now the like of this arcading may be seen in a small cistern at Constantinople<sup>20</sup> on a capital there used over from earlier building, and the prototype of it on the abacus of a pagan capital at Merida already cited, as on two Sassanian capitals at Tag-i-Bostan.

vi. c. The bases are set on a high plinth and carved with thick sappy symmetrical plant-patterns enclosed in triangles, as though the wandering artist had seen workmen at Mshatta or Rabbath-Ammon, or the Sassanian carving at Tag-i-Bostan. The epigraphy is plentiful, by good luck: Visigothic in character and seventh-century or eighth-century, recognizable.

vii. c. If the plan and conception of the church are Eastern altogether, carried out, with means quite inadequate, on a remote Spanish river-bank, if the type of cruciform comes nearest to what is told of

sanctuaries in the Caucasus, that does not imply that Iranian builders came to Spain. Yet such a church<sup>21</sup> as that in Georgia of Kutais, built 1003 by the architect Maisa for King Bagrat III, or the Georgian Aladsha-Kislé, which Millet cites as the perfect cross-inscribed, or that of Thalin in Armenia, likewise eleventh-century work finished in the Eastern equivalent of Romanesque—all these but show how on other soil, with other means, a man conceived his church, which should possess sacristies and aisles for use, and wide-stretching arms in vistas, and lift up, overhead, dimly, a dangerous height, drawing the eye to mount from realm to realm of shadowy distance, as through the hierarchies of heaven.

The four churches hitherto considered represent four different types: the Roman basilica, and a Hellenistic modification of that, the Greek cross, and the cross inscribed. Only one of these could be called of western provenance, and none of them have precedents or parallels, French or Italian in nationality. They belong, with

xi c.  
in the  
Caucasus

One sort  
of Space  
Composi-  
tion

Indis-  
putably  
Visigothic

a certainty beyond cavil, inside the Visigothic era; it may prove that they afford earlier instances than any that survive in the East, of shapes that were to flourish in the growth of Christian architecture.



Tarrasa

The churches of Tarrasa represent a different tradition. Sr. Puig y Cadafalch believes<sup>22</sup> that the chapel of S. Michael is the baptistery of the ancient basilica of Egara, which was a Visigothic see from 450 till the eighth century extinguished it. S. Maria is cited in 973 and was consecrated in 1112. The apse, of a lumpy tumid form, is embedded in the rectangular masonry of the east end, while at S. Pedro it is a Carolingian-looking trefoil of three exedrae struck on the sides of a trapezoid with the semi-dome carried on trompes. Quite possibly these were built under the Visigoths; but whatever remained of them was pretty thoroughly rebuilt in the twelfth century, and so were parts of S. Miguel. But there excavations of the Catalan archi-

S. Miguel

tect have revealed, under the present apse, a crypt, trefoil, with deep apses opening from a square, and containing windows; likewise the remains of a font under the central lantern.

The plan is square, with a projecting apse, of horseshoe form within and six-sided without. Four principal and four slighter columns sustain on very stilted arches a central lantern, and are connected with each other and with wall-pilasters by arches, and four groined vaults mark the arms of the cross. The angles are filled in by curving quarter-domes; the wall is curved to less than a quarter-circle, and the mass of the wall embraces everything. The original lantern was probably a cloistered vault. The capitals and abaci are various and often shabby, none of them imperial. The interior, perhaps for this reason, is not impressive, but outside, the assemblage of roofs at various levels, in due and expressive subordination to function, is highly picturesque. Inevitably it recalls S. Vitale of Ravenna and at the moment it makes the more charming picture of the

Baptistery

Fig. 7

Plate XV

Plate XIV

two, with the group of old churches, the cypress trees, the wallflowers and roses of the priest's garden.



Literary evidence

With Tarrasa closes the tale of Visigothic churches standing nearly intact, and not to be disputed fairly. What with chronicles, books and inscriptions, we know of more than eighty churches, baptisteries and convents of the Visigoths that existed between the fifth and the eighth century. Palaces, fortifications, monasteries, as well as churches, they built and rebuilt: it is not much which has survived.



Germigny-  
les-Prés

In the account must be included the church of Germigny-les-Prés, built as a chapel in 806 by the Spanish bishop Theodulf of Orleans, then Abbot of Fleury, on the river bank not far from S. Benoît-sur-Loire. The plan is cross-inscribed, the horseshoe apses project as in Armenia and



(V. p. 100)



(V. p. 99)

S. Julian's-in-the-Fields, after F. de Selgas

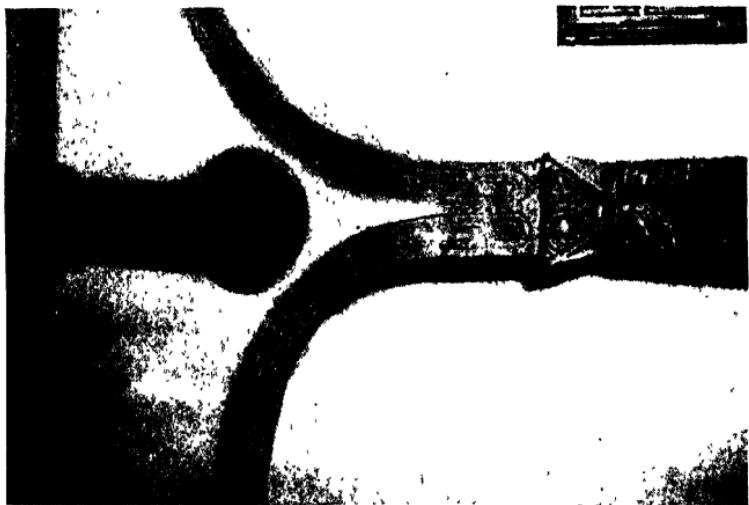


Photo G. G. K.

Naranco, Eastern Ornament

(V. p. 109)



Photo G. G. K.

Berlanga, Eastern Building

(V. p. 199)

Georgia, the arches are horseshoe in elevation. Lampérez<sup>23</sup> has discussed the church, and so have the French authorities, there is therefore not need to pause upon detail, the less because the last restoration is said to have falsified through carelessness the original. It is worth however remembering that the apse-mosaic of this ninth-century church of Theodulf's represents a subject purely symbolical, the Ark of the Covenant, and that Visigoths had a preference for symbol over representation which the French did not share. Like the palatine chapel at Aachen, it belongs to the "central type" of church, but there is no more likeness; whereas it fits perfectly into place with S. Pedro de la Nave, and the Baptistry of Tarrasa, the mosque which preceded *El Cristo de la Luz* in Toledo, and the other mosque called of *Las Tornerias* there, as a special, occidental variant of the theme of cross-inscribed. Here again in Touraine the intention was to compose an interior that should draw the thought up and up, turning the wandering mind incessantly in upon itself and back to the

Rivoira  
claims -  
too much

9-celled  
plan  
Fig. 9

S. Roman  
de Hornija

Cruciform

centre as a light controls the flutterings of a moth.



Another church built by a great person beside a river was S. Roman de Hornija that Ambrosio de Morales visited too late; and like Bamba later, it was pulled down and rebuilt piecemeal, but more completely.

S. Isidore's account of it is suggestive. Under the year 653 he writes:

"Chidaswinth died in peace, away from Toledo, in the Monastery of S. Roman de Hormisca, near the river Duero, which he had built from the foundations, and was buried in a great monument within the church itself which was peaked in the four parts"—i. e., like Galla Placidia he made a cruciform mausoleum, the four steep roofs running out from the lantern, and there his sarcophagus stood.<sup>24</sup>

Morales says: "I saw the ancient church of the Goth's work, with its crossing of four arms," and elsewhere likens the arches to

those of Bamba, which means a horseshoe form; but already the east end was altered and "all that was left were the rich columns of divers sorts and colours of marbles which were through all the edifice": the columns and colonnettes might have stood under the main arches, and in the ajimez windows. The present church contributes nothing to clear up ambiguities. Two capitals conjoined to make a holy-water stoup are unmistakably Mozarabic, like one in S. Tomás at Toro; others collected from a mill and a private house, with the one which upon a spiral column upholds the pulpit, appear to me Visigothic, more or less ill-executed; even about the beautiful capital in the Ermita del Canto, of Toro, which shows birds pecking, and that sketched by Sr. Gómez-Moreno in Morales de Toro, my opinion remains uncertain. Mozarabic work was done indeed at Hornija, which must be referred to later: at that the problem must be left.

Columns

and capitals



**Montelios** In Portugal two Visigothic churches have been identified. S. Fructuoso of Montelios,<sup>25</sup> near Braga, was built about 660 by the Gallegan saint; it is another of the cross-inscribed variety, square on plan, with a central lantern, and a triple arcade set under the great arches of the crossing as if with a memory of S. Vitale. The arches are of the Visigothic horseshoe, with Corinthian capitals upon columns and inside piers that act as responds but stand free—as I understand—recalling the free-standing eastern columns at S. Juan de Baños. It would seem to have been vaulted once.

**Balsamão** Lampérez published from a study of Joaquin de Vasconcellos, the church of S. Peter at Balsamão; it stands in the Duero valley, a day's journey from Lamego. The town was Roman, the first bishop, called Sardinario, ruled in 572; the church was restored about 1360 and again in 1643, also in the eighteenth century, and the designs painted on the carved ceiling of timber are derived from India shawls. The plan is rectangular, wider than long,

**Fig. 8**

with a deep rectangular apse projecting, and doors at the west, south and north. Two columns stand at the entrance to the sanctuary and the nave arcade consists of two more on each side between deep responds, sections of wall projecting east and west from the walls and topped with the sort of volutes that often appear on Roman funeral *cippi*. These sections of walls, while they must be compared with the inner walls of S. Pedro de la Nave, are tokens of an apprehensive but fixed determination to vault the whole. The sanctuary arch is horseshoe still: from the other arches the re-entrant portions have been chiselled off. The Corinthian capitals, preserved and copied when such reverence was rare, betray a recent recollection of the antique, and the whole has the sort of freshness and freedom even in its imperfection, which was felt at S. Comba, and is wanting in the Asturias. Late sixth century would be a conjectural date.



Wide-hall  
plan

Other building

Not much else remains. The so-called cave of S. Antolin in the crypt of Palencia cathedral is still a riddle: partly twelfth century, it seems in part Visigothic, but the arches and capitals on which this judgement depends overlay other portions of the building.<sup>26</sup> Sr. Gómez-Moreno found a ruined church at Carmarzana de Tera,<sup>27</sup> in the same Duero region that has preserved other remains: it is rectangular, with apses at each end, and remains practically unpublished. The Chapel of Elche, that of Burguillos, that of Arnal in Portugal, like the Basilica of Guerrazar, are only broken ruins and holes in the ground. The Mosque of Cordova, which contains the present cathedral, has preserved also, in a side door and a few arches, fragments of the church of S. Vincent.<sup>28</sup>

Fig. 10

The Christ of the Light,<sup>29</sup> after it was a mosque rebuilt in A. D. 980, was too well rebuilt again in the Mudéjar style of the Reconquest to offer more than a field for conjecture, but recalling the other Spanish instances of a rectangle comprising nine bays, with central lantern, I believe, my-

self, the plan of the mosque portion, as well as the capitals, to be Visigothic. That special variant of the cross-inscribed, wide as it is long, with projecting apse, has shown itself a clear Spanish development (VI c. to VIII c.) from the original theme of which the Armenian version is the cathedral of Etchmiadsin or the SS. Apostles (XI c.) at Ani.

Cross-  
inscribed

One famous Toledan monument, however, remains still unaccounted for. Of the basilicas which Visigoths built in the city of Toledo,<sup>29</sup> S. Eulalia was founded in 559, S. Sebastian in 602; and remains of both of these, lately uncovered, perpetuate the original dedications and the Visigothic capitals, but carry a round-headed horseshoe arch that was turned by Mozarabic, or else, after the city was taken, by Mudéjar workmen. These, in the uncertainty which attends them, may be left; the case is otherwise with S. Maria de Melque.<sup>30</sup>

S. Eulalia

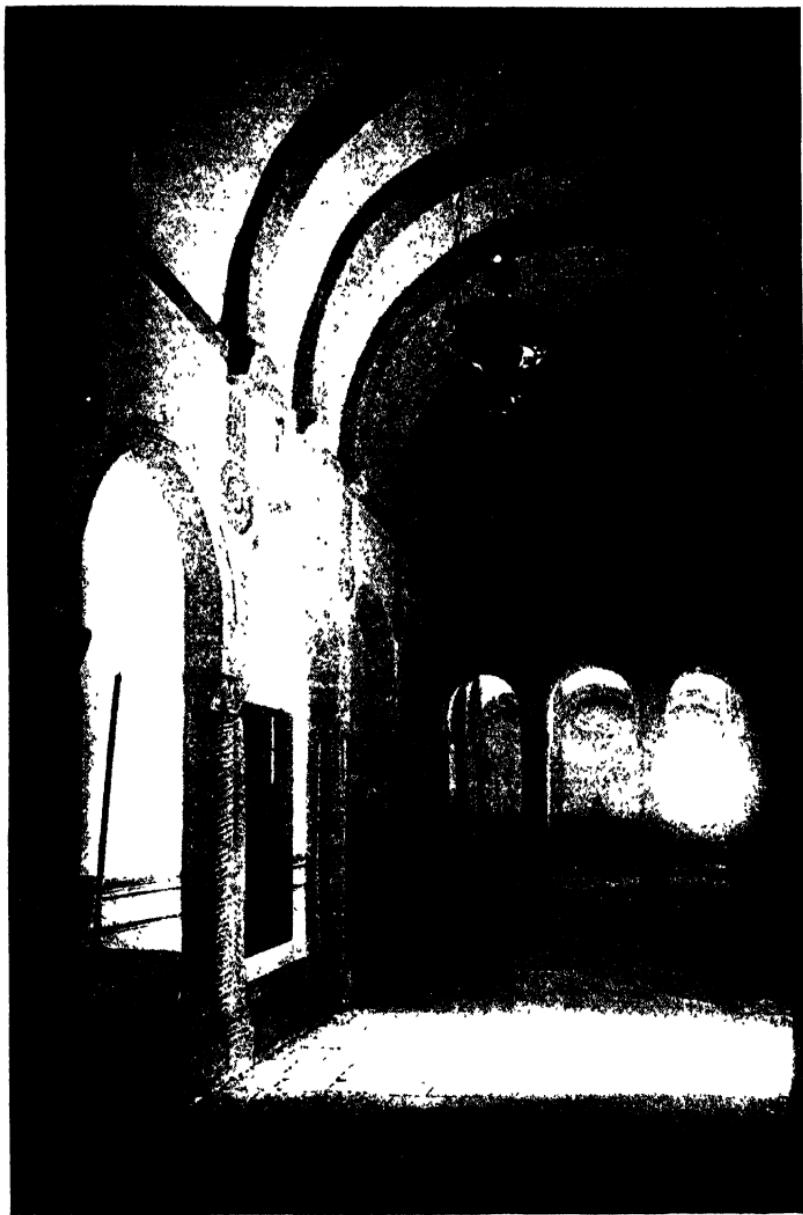
S. Sebastian

S. Maria  
de Melque

Plate XVI

Templars:  
cf. p. 198

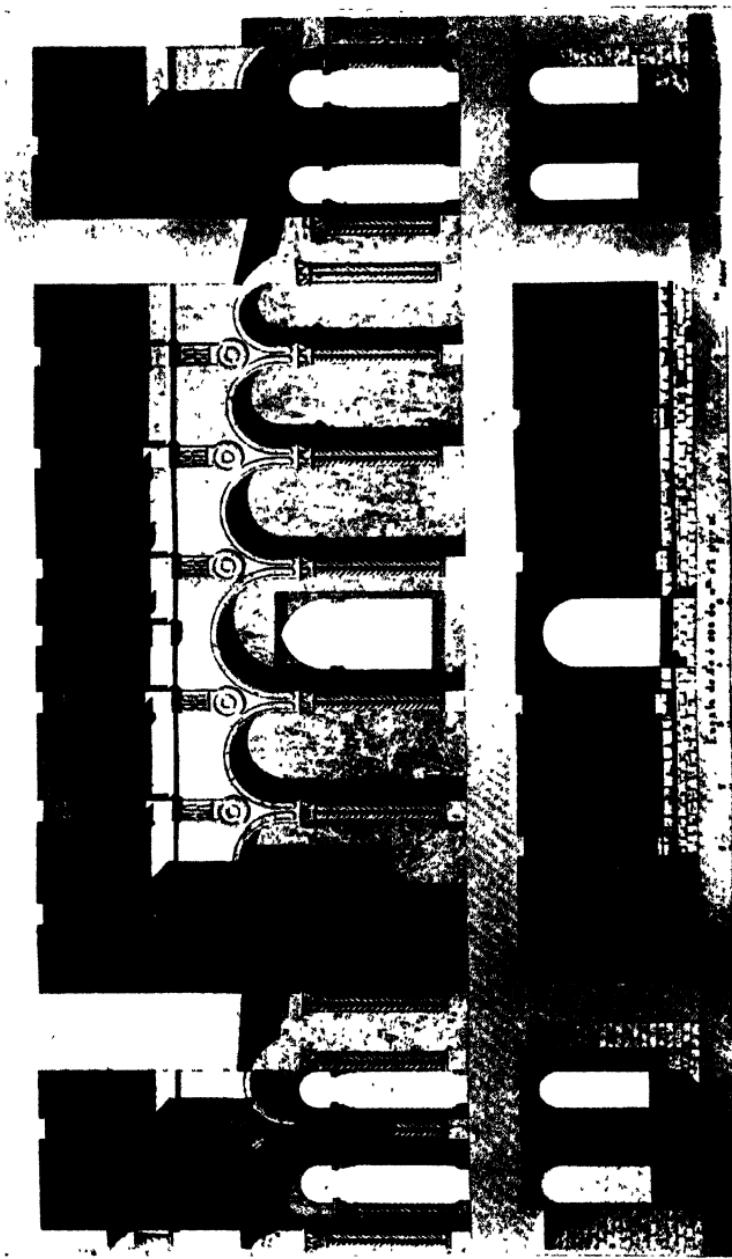
That stands, all but complete, today, about thirty kilometers away from Toledo to the southward. With its ruined square tower and lower arms, where débris of ruined roofing is heaped on the barrel-vaulting, the photograph looks rather like something on the Anatolian plateau. It has no history, though the sanctuary was known to exist by Fr. Román de la Higuera and Céan Bermúdez. The land belonged once to Templars; but this church antedates the Templars, who entered Aragon in 1134 and Castile somewhat later and who built in the approved Romanesque style of their own churches in France and Palestine. The granite blocks laid dry, the west door with a lintel below a huge discharging arch, the small horseshoe windows built with great stones laid horizontally at first and afterwards crowded in awkwardly, the piers which simulate engaged columns and are topped by an impost simply moulded that continues as a stringcourse under the springing of the barrel-vaults, the great transverse horseshoe arches of apse and arms, laid horizontally up to



(V. p. 106)

*Photo. F. de Selgas*

S. María de Naranco, Nave, Looking West



*Photo. Mon. Argau*

Naranco, Section of Church and Crypt

the line of the diameter, to save centering, the dome which is a cloistered vault that starting from rudimentary columnar stone supports in the angles below the stringcourse is thereafter laid in concentric rings: all these point directly to Asia Minor as the home of the builder. The plan is cruciform, with a door at the west, windows in the three faces of the arms and eastward of the lateral chapels; an opening between the sanctuary and the side chambers on either hand. The northern chamber opens to a niche in the north arm of the cross, and has an eastern exterior door; the southern looks into the crossing by a window, pierced above a corresponding niche, and has a southern door. Sr. Lampérez does not conceive this arrangement of doors, etc., to be original. The lantern tower, that loads the crossing vault and rises with much the same effect as at Peñalba and Celanova, is partly of later building.

Strongly though I feel ill-qualified to differ from my masters in Spanish ecclesiology, Sres. Lampérez and Gómez-Moreno,

Stone building without centering

Fig. 12

Plate XVII

Melque  
Visigothic

most of all in respect of a church that I have not yet seen, however abundant and excellent the photographs and drawings they have published and presented to me, I cannot conceive that this church was built after Alfonso VI retook Toledo, A. D. 1085, nor, before that date, by an architect from Kara Dagh, who would be either an Anatolian Christian existing among Spanish Mozarabes on sufferance, or else a fugitive before the Turkish conquerors that had come in to Maden Sheher about 1070.<sup>31</sup> The neat juxtaposition of dates tempts one to such a theory, but the presumption is all against a fantastic possibility that on frontier soil, twenty miles below the Tagus line, on a disused branch road of forgotten Roman days, the hard-pressed conqueror whose archbishop and queen were both French, set down an *émigré* builder who was washed up near the headwaters of the Tagus, with a force of men fit to hew and move Cycloian masonry: he was given to another style, precisely as the Templars were. On the other hand, the Visigoths used Roman roads and possessed the land

in plenty, and an Anatolian in the eighth century was quite as likely to go west as in the eleventh and more certain to arrive there. The single apse is adapted to Visigothic use. The flanking chambers are prothesis and diaconicon, as we found them in S. Pedro de la Nave, required by Visigothic use, while the horseshoe arches, the eastward niches, and the one in the south arm, are constant Anatolian features, so are the mouldings of this sort, and the lumpy pier forms. The Anatolian architect will have fled from the first Arab invasion, which reached his country about A. D. 660, or even perhaps from the inroad of A. D. 700, and coming as a refugee to the court of Toledo, built in the early style of his own land a sanctuary for the Visigothic king. Comparing Melque with No. 8 and No. 29 of the *Thousand and One Churches*, both reckoned pre-Arab, I must call S. Maria seventh-century work, Visigothic.

vii c. or  
viii c.  
Anatolian



## Cautions

If this brief survey yields very positive impressions about the type of Visigothic churches, they cannot be used for generalization without some modification. They are not representative. These churches are all unimportant: they are either private foundations or situated in places out of the way and poverty-stricken. The great churches, those of cities, those specially sacred, had three ordeals to undergo. They were looted for their wealth, then demolished for their abomination, lastly rebuilt for their sanctity or importance, diocesan or municipal. It may well be that here, as in the East, the more important churches were basilican. They are all gone. But the churches yet standing afford something to compare, for instance, with Romanesque churches in the same class, if one should wish.

## Conclusions

They establish four things: the presence of Eastern forms, and a very early date for the naturalization of these, and the existence of a characteristic and national art, and a set of dated examples.



## II

The Arabs who came into Spain at the outset were tolerant, well-organized and highly civilized. The great mass of the population, Hispano-Roman and Visigothic, went on, under Moslem dominion, with their counts, their judges, their bishops, their churches, in a civil independence almost complete.<sup>1</sup> They paid a poll-tax, like all other subjects, and a land-tax in kind, which was sometimes higher for Christians; to this churches and monasteries were likewise liable. On the conqueror's property serfs fared rather better than before, and personal slavery has always been lighter under the law of Mahomet. The Caliph and his representative the Emir of Africa appointed the Emir of Cordova. The government of Spain was officially Arab and carried with it ecclesiastical functions like appointing bishops and calling church councils. New building was, as a rule, forbidden, but the

*The age  
of the  
Reconquest*

In  
Andalusia

and  
Cantabria

Christians kept most of their churches and monasteries, and the great basilica of S. Laurence, at Cordova, was shared between the two faiths till the first independent Emir, Abd-er-Rahman I, rebuilt it for a mosque.

Meanwhile the princes and chiefs of the old Gothic kingdom had been beaten back into the northern mountains, and kept their independence in Cantabria. The Asturian mountaineers, whom the Visigoths had not conquered till the time of Sisebut, well along in the seventh century, remained independent of the Moslems. Thither came what remained of the army that had stood a year's siege in Merida, the defeated soldiery from Castile who had declined to settle down and live quietly, various great lords who had lost everything, bishops in like plight. The case of absentee bishops had been regularized by the Synod of 690, *in Trullo*, so the easy consciences of those in residence at Oviedo may be a sign of their general orientalism. In the *Picos de Europa* they all elected one of their class, called Pelayo, when the death of Roderick

at Segoyuela (in September of 713) was known for a certainty; they paid tribute at times to a Berber governor at Gijón on the north shore, but at another time Pelayo went down to Cordova and negotiated a treaty. The next Emir, raiding their fastnesses, was signally defeated, and the name of Covadonga became a word of power. They lived less like mountaineers than like gentlemen on a prolonged hunting-exursion, not unmindful of their caste and their ancient princely estate. Refugees from Aragon and Navarre, nobles and ecclesiastics, came to join them, and the neighbouring counts from Cantabrian and Galician territory broke up their arrangements with the invader and combined with the Asturians. Alfonso the Catholic, second after Pelayo and his son-in-law, was able to raid southward successfully, and Froila, in the end of the eighth century, to establish the court in comfort and decorum at Oviedo.

Here in a wide valley, thirty miles from the sea, Froila founded a city with two churches, one dedicated to the Saviour and

*Los que  
sois de  
sangre  
hidalga*

Oviedo  
building

the twelve Apostles, the other to SS. Julian and Basilisa. There was no Roman site to supply marbles, but the ancient locality called *Lucus*, about six miles away, must have encompassed some sort of sacred grove, which could bequeath a cult, if not a shrine. The granite of the *Picos de Europa*, the heavy forests that covered them, were to supply building-material, and the workmen, like the counts, had received and carried on a Gothic tradition with pride neither idle nor sterile. A significant passage in the *Life*<sup>2</sup> of the Norman S. Ouen of Rouen declares that when he died, in the middle of the eighth century, the Frankish king Clothair rebuilt his church in ashlar by the hands of Gothic builders; and elsewhere is said of it, *Miro fertur opere constructa ab articibus gothis.*

*Opus quadri-  
ris lapidi-  
bus gothica  
manu*

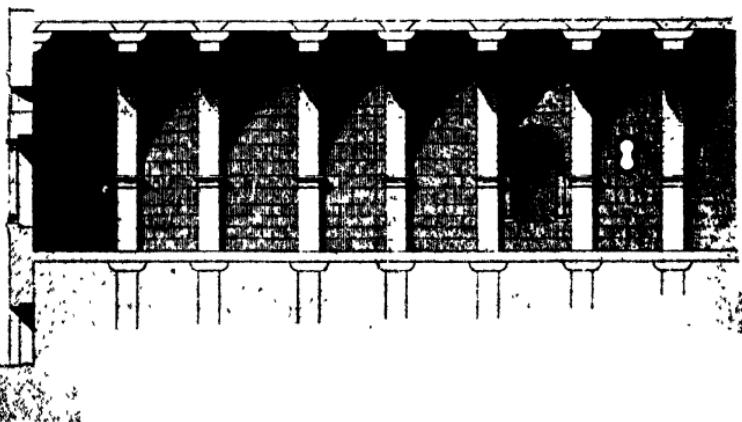
The Norman raids at this date had not yet begun to bring back to the north Spanish loot and slaves, so that the builders will have been free workmen wandering over the world. The way was plain and easy, for a great trade-route, that trans-shipped goods from the East at Tarragona and Tortosa



(V. p. 115)

S. Cristina de Lena

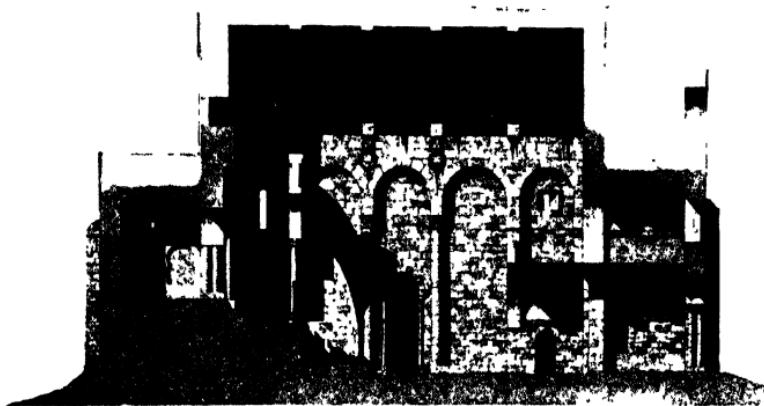
*Mon. Arquit.*



(V. p. 107)

Shaqqa, Long Hall, Section

*De Vogüé*



(V. p. 115)



(V. p. 116)

S. Cristina de Lena, Sections from *Mon. Arquit.*

and carried them up the Ebro basin to be reshipped at Bilbao and Santander, Gijón and Rivadeo, kept ships in constant passage between the Biscayan ports and those of the Loire and the Seine.<sup>3</sup>

If there was little work at home for the sons of craftsmen from Merida and Cordova in the eighth century, in the ninth there was to be abundance, but indeed by the last quarter of the eighth century it had commenced. King Silo built a church and burial-chapel that reveal the architecture of the new kingdom as living and growing in unbroken continuity with the past, but changing, perhaps under renewed influence from the East.

At Toledo the kings had done everything to preserve a Roman and to establish an imperial tradition: in the Asturias this was abandoned, and the Teutonic inheritance was recalled. The dominion of Spain was vested in the Emir: these refugees neither coined money nor called themselves kings. Alfonso the Chaste looked northward, he negotiated an alliance with Charlemagne, who was after all Emperor, crowned at

Alfonso's  
homage to  
Charle-  
magne

*La caza de  
Roncesvalles*

Rome. In view of this, it is probably true that Alfonso, with some vague ancestral memory of primitive feudalism, consented to pay homage. How little this suited his people, the legendary figure of Bernardo del Carpio looms up to mark. Charlemagne had raided as far as Saragossa, but on his return the Navarrese and Basques and other Spaniards, led by Bernardo, the king's nephew, fell upon his army and cut it to pieces: so the Romances and the *Coronica General*. The earlier expedition under Childebert, which besieged Saragossa in 533, had carried back many treasures into France when it drew off, defeated; the *Chanson de Roland* is probably correct in assuming that this time also the king and the main army got away with the loot. These spoils and this experience must be reckoned in estimating the influence of Spain upon Carolingian art and that preceding. Just as the French, under Louis XII and Francis I, brought little or nothing into Italy, but carried home what was to transform French art and, as many think, to do harm all but irretrievable, so the

Franks who had little to bring, took back, along with S. Vincent's bones and the Moorish textiles, material to copy and memories to imitate.

What  
the French  
carried  
home

With Louis the Pious some tentative relation was probably maintained, but the chief consequences of this ninth century Frankish imperialism are confined to the Marca Hispanica, and for the Castiles came to nothing. Alfonso the Chaste built the church of S. Julian-in-the-Fields, and rebuilt the church of the Saviour, erected flanking edifices and raised it to be metropolitan in 812. These exist, in part or wholly, except the cathedral, which wealthy piety in successive centuries could not be expected to leave intact. His architect was called Tioda: a good Gothic name. The Gothic laws, disused among the mountains, he revived; built towns and repeopled them.

Repeopling involves immigration: the pilgrimage of S. James, commenced in this time, brought foreigners, like the Ebro route; and in the mountain capital, or in towns newly founded with special induce-

"On the  
mountains  
visitant"

*Christi  
plebe*

ments to settlers, the traders, pilgrims and exiles would pause or establish themselves. Before the ninth century was ended the whole north country from Galicia to Catalonia was free from foreign rule either Frankish or Moslem, was ready to recommence in the old way, and welcoming thrifty citizens or traders that could sell and buy.

Syria

Among these visitants must be reckoned, as very important, the Syrians. As early as the sixth century they had maintained a thriving colony in the Visigothic city of Narbonne, where doubtless S. Isidore, when visiting there in his day, held edifying discourse with them, and whence they went out on commercial and other business unmolested, whether their overlord was, more or less vaguely, the Caliph, or the Count of the Spanish March. The Ebro Road was familiar to them, and probably the passes of the Pyrenees, and the west bank of the Rhone, for I have come upon the Syrian S. Ginés not only at Toledo and Arles but at Lyons and Dijon. By wallet and saddle-bag came in their cults and uses.

Intercourse with Syria and Constantinople was still easy, indeed travel in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia was easier for Ibn-Khurdadbih and Yakubi in the ninth century than for men<sup>4</sup> in their position today. The mountainous region of the Tur Abdin in northern Mesopotamia was probably less remote and more frequented at that epoch than now. Of the monasteries there, Mar Augen, which lies nearest to Nisibis, claims to have been founded from Egypt, and Mar Gabriel boasts a tomb of Egyptian monks and was possibly built in the sixth century; Mar Yakub and Mar Azaziel show details in Miss Lowthian Bell's photographs almost as old, that suggest Syria as an original source of this strange and highly regional architecture.<sup>5</sup> In two things the building is remarkable. One is the use of rectangular niches in the thickness of the wall to enlarge the floor space beyond what the barrel-vault could safely span, probably with the intention of a buttress function performed by the projecting sections of wall. From Mar Yakub of Salah to Mar Azaziel of Kefr Zeh, and

and  
Mesopo-  
tamia

Fig. 16

Fig. 15

The wide hall

finally to Mar Kyriakos of Arnas, the niches may be traced, growing larger steadily; they are a local equivalent for the arched niches of the great hall at Sarvistan. Furthermore, in Mar Gabriel and Mar Yakub and I think in other churches of the region the nave of the church is barrel-vaulted on a north-and-south axis in the form that it is convenient to call the wide hall; this is a very ancient Mesopotamian plan and it is the old Hittite *hilani*.<sup>6</sup>

Armenia

About Armenians in the ninth century I am not so well-informed as I could wish. They seem to have lived in their own country much as the Spaniards did, raided every summer by the Arabs but able to contribute emperors and engineers to Byzantium at need. William of Tyre says the Armenians taught the Crusaders how to build their castles, but this refers probably to the late-mediaeval kingdom of Little Armenia and has no bearing on the questions of the ninth century.

Now while it would be implausible to refer apparent likeness between Armenian

Overland  
ways

and Spanish architecture to the fact that when they were on the Black Sea the Visigoths knew the Armenians, or to refer the Georgian parallels to the Iberian origin of the inhabitants of Georgia, yet between East and West there is an overland route through Asia Minor as well as a water-way by the Bosphorus, both well-travelled, that make possible the presence, at the earliest courts of the Reconquest, of refugees from the outlying mountains of the Eastern Caliphate, or messengers political or ecclesiastical. Certain it is that during the short reign of Ramiro I, Oviedo saw such a sudden flowering as calls for some explanation. Every rare and sudden art is either a graft or a hybrid, and this of the ninth century in the Asturias seems to imply fresh contact with the East. The surprising churches of Naranco, S. Maria and S. Miguel, with S. Cristina de Lena, are all of his building: but the moment is larger than a single lifetime, nor altogether to be accounted for even though we recognize the presence of a single architect, unrelated to Tioda, with more powerful

A rare  
and sudden  
art

imagination and rarer constructive invention. The horseshoe arch is gone, and three parallel apses replace the single one that projected; on the other hand, buttresses are introduced and piers, and an arcade inside the apse, with the use of brick in arches, though that was hard to come by in a granite land. No other country in Europe has the like to show in the ninth century, and whatever was not of the soil must be sought in Asia.

Ordoño I, conquering Saragossa and raiding as far southwestward as to Coria, cleared ground for Alfonso the Great. Alfonso dedicated to the Saviour, on the north shore and among the estuaries, churches at Priesca and Val de Dios, but in his time the Christians were re-established south of the mountains in Leon. The accession at Cordova of Abd-er-Rahman III, which opened the most splendid period of the Western Caliphate, and Alfonso's division of his realm among his children, both acted to diminish the lustre of the ninth century at its close. When the tenth century began, Cordovan monks



(V. p 117)

S. Cristina de Lena, Choir

*Photo. Lacoste*



*Photo. E. H. Loeber*

(V. p. 117)

under his protection had brought the Mozarabic style into the Campos de los Godos. The conditions of life and thought in the kingdom of which Leon was the capital, were so unlike those that the Asturian princes had brought with them into the mountains and modified unawares and slowly, that they can be considered better hereafter.

Campos  
de los  
Godos

Under the pressure of desperate resistance the Spanish people had become one. In the conditions of the Reconquest feudalism was impossible: all Christians together, they held up their heads and spoke freely one to another. The Gothic independence of warriors about their chief passed over to become the heritage of all. The Roman municipal liberties were cherished and extended till towns ranked with counts in Cortes and on battlefields. The kingdom of Navarre had asserted itself, between Franks and Moors, independent of both, though whereas Catalans had easily thrown off the Arab suzerainty, to be governed by counts of their own race, Saragossa was long an emirate and kept traces of Moslem

art into the Renaissance. But down to the reign of Alfonso VI, late in the eleventh century, the history of Spanish architecture is to be traced chiefly in that region about Leon and Palencia, bordering southward on the Duero and extending northward into the Asturias, that may be called, by an extension of a geographic name, the Campos de los Godos. For the present, however, the Asturian churches are in question.



Santiañes

At some time between 770 and 783 the church at Pravia was built, as already said, by King Silo; it is commonly called Santiañes. He dedicated it to S. John Evangelist in an inscription over the apse-window, and set above the transept arch a stone with a complicated labyrinth or magic square of letters, which declared, any way you read them, that he was the builder: **SILO PRINCEPS FECIT.** This was broken to pieces in the seventeenth century by a gentleman who claimed seig-

noral rights over the church; another, of the same temper, rebuilt the church to provide not only a burial-place for himself and his family, but likewise, for them all while living, a sort of family pew in the sanctuary. Fortunately the inscriptions had already been noted: Carballo saw the dedication-stone, with year and bishops' names, but neglected to copy it; the two inscriptions above mentioned were taken down exactly. From early accounts, and the memory of those yet living, Fortunato de Selgas was able to reconstruct fairly well the primitive basilica.<sup>1</sup> The church, as he understood, was a long rectangle, with parallel apses at the east, a transept, elevated, without projection on plan, which opened from the central cross to the arms by arches no higher than those of the nave arcade; and that nave opened into its aisles by the two eastern bays only, the remaining space being occupied by a *pantheon* or low burial chamber, with doors east and west, shut off from the aisles by solid walls. A chamber above looked into the church and out of doors by windows

Alterations

Fig. 11

**Santiañes** east and west, accessible probably by a ladder only. The crossing piers and those of the sanctuary were heavy, with deep responds, similar ones extending from the east wall of the *pantheon*; buttresses were set, north and south, at both transept-ends, and columns under the arches of the three apses.

I have not seen this church, unfortunately: the plan of it at present is wider at the transepts and deeper at the central apse, so that the excavation which would be needed to make sure of the primitive plan would be difficult to carry out, but it seems to me possible that from King Silo's building may have been taken over the projection of the central apse as a feature, and also the openings between that and the side chambers which are now sacristies.

This communication between the eastern chambers is invariable (I think) in the East, in Syria, in the Tur Abdin, throughout the Greek school, as indeed liturgical use demands it; and it is a very old tradition in Spanish architecture, never quite disused; the fourteenth and fifteenth and

sixteenth century churches of the north, in Galicia and elsewhere, cling to the custom, and if they have no doorway yet pierce the wall above a tomb-recess. Instances may be found at Lugo and Pontevedra and Vitoria alike, at Rivadavia and Santiago, in the Friars' Gothic there. The three parallel apses severed by solid walls, perhaps to carry the loftier and more massive barrel-vaults, belong to Romanesque.

Communi-  
cation  
eastward

In the square east wall of Santiañes was set an ajimez window of two or three lights, such as may still be seen at S. Tirso in Oviedo and Santullano just outside; and over the arches, under the label that enclosed them, which may be called in Spanish architecture from the Moorish name *alfiz*, the inscription was carved:

IN HONORE SANCTI JONNES  
APOSTOLI ET EVANGELISTE  
HEC DOMUS CONSTITIT.

The flanking chapels, if they were once flush with the sanctuary wall as in Syrian churches, were cut down in the reconstruction. It is probable that these, in San-

Santiañes, were always chapels, for one of the clear distinctions between the Visigothic sanctuaries and those of the Reconquest is that while the former had only one altar, the others had many, as the triple dedications of Alfonso the Catholic and Alfonso the Chaste imply.

Mozarabic rite The early Mozarabic rite doubtless, as in the East, required communication eastward; it is said to have required also some separation between priests and people, in the way of an iconostasis and parapet, perhaps like that which Pognon<sup>2</sup> saw at Mar Azziel in the Tur Abdin, built by the priest Elias who died in 755, which had an architrave above, and low parapets on either side a central opening. The pieces of such parapets have been preserved at Santiañes, S. Miguel de Linio and S. Cristina de Lena, as well as in the Mozarabic churches of Escalada and Boñar. Another primitive trait, which Pognon also observed in the Tur Abdin and Fortunato de Selgas in the Asturias, is placing the altar free from the wall, so that the priest may pass entirely around, this likewise obtaining in

the Coptic ritual. That may well be what kept on the tradition of a square apse, more spacious by far than the round, with room for movement.

The *panteon* or separate burial-chapel at the west, which was to persist in Spanish churches, down to the Renaissance and after, was originally a compromise with the canon that forbade interments in the church. This at Santiañes of the eighth century, one that Alfonso II built at Oviedo in the ninth, the famous chapel at the west of S. Isidore of Leon, are early instances but, like the Galilees of Poblet and Gerona, the plateresque church of S. Maria at Villafranca in the Vierzo can show in the same situation the same intention carried down through the thirteenth and fourteenth to the sixteenth century. An exact parallel is found in Armenia, at the cathedral of Etchmiadsin, A. D. 1038, for instance, and at Khosha Vank near Ani,<sup>3</sup> called into being by conditions very nearly identical.

About sixty years had passed since the death of Roderick. On comparing this

*Panteon*

**Santiafies** architecture with the Visigothic, what it has carried on is readily apparent: the composition with roofs at various levels culminating at the crossing, the cross form within, a true lantern with windows, marble columns adorning the sanctuary arches, the secret chamber above a vault and below a roof. The consciousness of space-composition has suffered no abatement. What has been altered or added, is (as the sequel will confirm) the use of buttresses, a transept based on the latitudinal chamber or wide hall which is Mesopotamian, piers instead of columns, round arches not horseshoe, and three sanctuaries where one was, with communication between them, the straight east end, the tripartite west end with a tribune, constituting a rudimentary survival of the Syrian and Anatolian narthex.

Like S. Pedro de la Nave, Santiafies is a transitional church, and the pair together avail to bridge the interval from Toledo to Oviedo.





(V. p. 125)

S. Salvador de Val de Dios

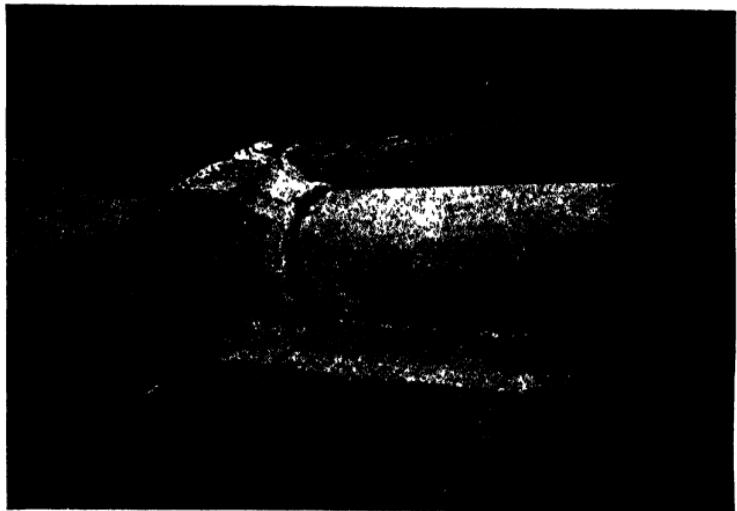
*Photo. G. G. K.*



*Photo G. G. K.*

(V. p. 163)

Escalada: Capitals from Nave and Cloister



*Photo. G. G. K.*

(V. p. 160)

Before the Mussulman raid of 816, from which Oviedo was protected less by its walls than by the army of Alfonso II, augmented by allies from the Basque country and Aquitaine, the king had already set about building a splendid capital. Of his cathedral and his palace we know only what the early chroniclers relate. Two churches however have survived. The church of S. Tirso was a fine building with many angles, says the Albeldense<sup>4</sup> writing in 883, from which we may assume a strong projection of the apse, with buttresses on either side. The triple window of the apse survives all changes, its four colonnettes provided with moulded bases, and capitals of firm thick leafage in two rows, a kind of palmette rising for the volute and a rose occupying the centre—the whole form being derived directly from the antique and not via the Visigothic. The central arch is higher than the others, the intercolumniation wider there, and a moulded label runs across the entire top and turns down for one-third the height. If this is work of Tioda, "the master who built the church

S. Tirso

*Morada  
de grandesa*

S. Tirso  
"Tioda  
architect  
of that  
church"

Fig. 17

of the Saviour," and as such signed the charter on November 16, 802, with five bishops and the king, then Tioda was an admirable artist. The church stood, ancient and piously preserved, till 1521, when the great fire that swept Oviedo destroyed the timber roof; in 1723 a Franciscan missionary, preaching there, was so moved by its wretchedness that he got it re-vaulted, and today the ancient forms are overlaid with baroque plaster work. It is possible however to make out, by the spacing of the arcade, that a wide transept once occupied the second bay; the other bays follow, and descend upon deep responds in the west wall, as at Balsamão; indeed the easternmost arch, pointed and narrower in span, must be pierced through similar responds in the eastern nave, or else through the walls of flanking chapels or sacristies, as at Santiañes. The west wall has no door, and the north portal in the last bay opened upon a flanking cloister after the Syrian kind, which was restored in 1723 and pulled down only in 1870. There during the Middle Age the Council

held its sessions, and thence the bishop made his solemn entry into the cathedral.



To the south of the cathedral the king built a chapel and dedicated it to the warrior and protector of souls, S. Michael the Archangel, raising it upon a low barrel-vaulted crypt. That he consecrated to S. Leocadia. A part of it was rebuilt in beautiful Romanesque, that set the twelve apostles, two and two, upon the wall piers to guard the precious relics therein laid up, but the eastern member of the Camara Santa is building of Alfonso the Chaste. It may be recognized by the original buttresses, two each upon the lateral walls and two projecting from the square apse; in the jambs of the window there, and under the entrance arch, are columns with capitals deep cut with drill and chisel, after the Eastern manner. The low round barrel-vault was always painted. In the crypt below some inscribed and carved slabs are preserved, two of these being rich lids of

Camara  
Santa

Fig. 13

Camara  
SantaCf. Velas-  
quez Bosco  
Pl. 35

and Pl. 33

Dusaris-  
motive

sarcophagi which haplessly were recut by a later restorer. Both were once in the same style as the tomb of Theodota at Pavia. The finer of the two is trapezoidal in form and had on a panel, in the upper half, the same motive of dragons and the tree of life as Theodota's; the excavations in the ruined palaces of Caliphs and conquerors near Cordova have turned up a fragment similar but later, less fine. On the other was a grape-motive like that of Merida. By tradition they both were fetched from Cordova with the relics of SS. Eulogius and Leocricia, when Alfonso III secured these in 883 and the monk Dulcidio brought them up the next January. There is no strong reason to suppose that the marble sarcophagus in which the Mozarabes of Cordova had enshrined a martyr, was made express in the ninth century: quite possibly they used a precious relic of the seventh-century church. In any case, there exists, though defaced, at Oviedo a close parallel to the "Lombard" carving of the eighth century, made at Cordova, and connected by style with Merida.

On the north of the cathedral stands the "hall of S. Mary," which the Chaste King built as his burial-chapel, consecrating three altars, one of them to S. Julian and another to the protomartyr, besides, of course, the titular. This chapel Morales saw, in the sixteenth century, and described with almost as much enthusiasm as Sebastian or the monk of Albelda, calling it large and high, with three aisles and a *capilla mayor* and two lateral chapels, "all fashioned with fair proportion and correspondency, adorned with great and rich marble at the entrance and within to form and sustain the vaults, with others smaller, twelve in all."<sup>5</sup> This I take to indicate that in the three rectangular chapels the barrel-vaulting ran between an eastern and a western arch, and these arches descended upon marble shafts, a pair to each, four to a chapel, the dozen for the east end. From another passage we know that the sanctuary arches were like those at Hornija and at Bamba, of horseshoe shape: and it is probable that this was the curve for the vault; the inner colonnettes were smaller

Fig. 14

Capilla del  
Rey Casto

Three apses

Central  
lantern

than those at the entrance, and anticipated the arcaded sanctuary of Santullano, of Priesca and Fuentes and perhaps S. Miguel de Linio. The timber roofing of the remainder displeased the sixteenth-century ecclesiologist, who felt that the king had spent all his resources on the sanctuary and could not finish as he had begun. At the west, enclosed within the nave walls, the *pantheon* of the king offered a lesson of humility, low and cramped, with a door looking toward the altar, that was closed with a network of iron; above this was a tribune or upper choir. The aisle ends seem to have been screened off in some way; from one a stair went up. The dimensions which Morales sets down confirm those of Fr. Manuel de Medrano, taken early in the eighteenth century, and we are compelled therefore to accept the surprising figure which he gives for altitude: this indicates that the transept was lifted in a central lantern, that rested eastward on the chapel vaults and westward on cruciform piers, beyond which two square piers and responds at the corners of the *pantheon*

sustained the three bays of the nave arcade. At the end of every arcade a buttress was set without, *i. e.*, abutting eastward the chapel walls, and westward those of the *panteon*, also on the northern and the southern face abutting the transept arcades east and west. It was all rebuilt in 1712.



That basilica was Tioda's work: so was S. Julian-in-the-Fields.<sup>6</sup> The plan here is not, as might appear at first glance, intended for a rectangle of which the length is twice the breadth, but rather such a combination, in the architect's fertile imagination, of the basilican with the cruciform as gave rise at a later date, among richer potentialities, to the cruciform Lombard cathedral. The eastern mass, constituted by three parallel, rectangular chapels, carries two buttresses on each face and is set back a little within the eastern angles of the transept, which serve therefore like other buttresses. Thence westward the side walls are continuous and

Santullano

Fig. 18

Plate  
XVIII

Santullano

alike, with a door in the middle of the transept face, a buttress where that ends, and two more buttresses opposite the two piers of the nave. The west end which is planned like a narthex, with low vaulted vestibule between side chambers, is roofed at a lower level than the nave and east end, and a pair of rectangular sacristies opening north and south of the transept accommodate themselves roughly to the narthex level, while the transept gable rises above all the rest. Within, the transept is treated like an eastern member, the T-shaped piers which abut the sanctuary walls being independent of the west arcade. Westward of the transept large piers receive one end of the nave arcade, the other end of that arcade resting on deep responds in the narthex wall, which do not however correspond to the division, beyond, of vestibule and side-chambers. In the west wall of the transept a pair of piers is set well within those just enumerated, and the nave arch thrown across; between the two piers on each side is a niche or an open arch, and an altar stands there. A secret chamber

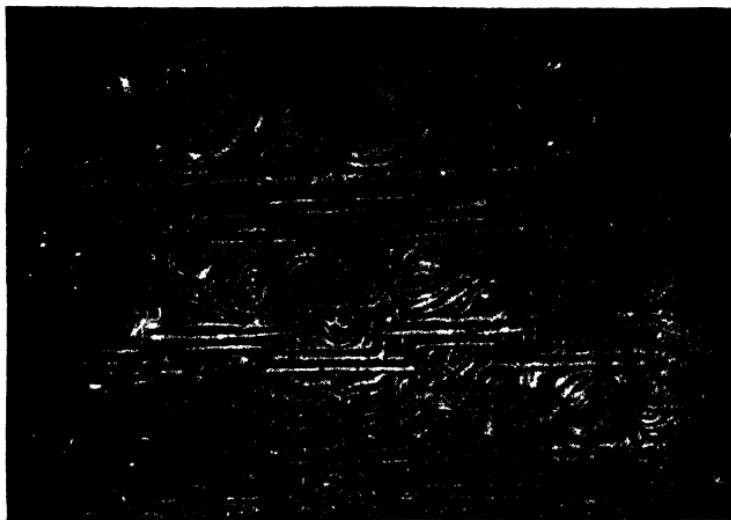
Plate  
XVIII



(V. p. 160)

*Photo. G. G. K.*

S. Miguel de Escalada, Looking Westward from the  
Sanctuary



(V. p. 161)

*Photo. G. G. K.*

Parapet-Slab, Escalaba



(V. p. 168)

*Photo. G. G. K.*

Capitals, Mazote

exists above the central apse, accessible by a ladder through the beautiful ajimez window of three lights, for which that of S. Tirso was but a first study, and which that of S. Maria de Naranco, built in the next reign, will appear to have taken as a model. The other windows, square-headed, have a brick relieving arch built above the lintel. The ceilings were probably all of open timber-work, carved and coloured in patterns of concentric semicircles and other designs suited to the woodworker.

Ajimez  
windows

Tioda's genius has here approved itself. Like his fathers, he shrank from a curved wall, a semidome, or a dome, but with modest barrel-vaults and massive oak and chestnut timbers he balanced masses and combined thrusts in security. His building material, we must remember, was rubble, and not, for the most part, ashlar, nor yet those stones, like the Syrian limestones and basalts, that split into slabs or cleave into regular blocks. Where they could, he and his followers used brick for an arch both here and elsewhere: now brick is not indigenous to Asturias nor is the clay there

Tioda's  
range

Santullano good for tiles, and the hint to use them came from east of the Mediterranean, whether by way of Damascus or by way of Cordova. The early Syrian narthex, which is found also in Anatolia at the west end of a basilican church, he took over: it is quite unlike that at S. Pedro de la Nave or Santiañes or Balsamão, but it was to be used on the hill of Naranco and in Val de Dios. The square east end, with its parallel chambers, is Syrian, but he set a straight wall inside the main apse, after the Visigothic custom known at Baños and Bande.

Prototypes Syrian In a temple at Is-Sanamen in the Hauran, as Dr. Butler pointed out,<sup>7</sup> exists the typical east end of Syrian churches which these in Asturias reproduce, the date of this being A. D. 191. It happens even that the side chambers are two-storied there, as they are in an early church at Damit-il-Alya, not very far off. So far the elements were all Syrian which Tioda adapted in the eighth century at a refugees' court where Christians, ecclesiastics and traffickers, were like to congregate; but for the lofty transverse aisle lying west of the sanc-

tuaries I know of no such likely or near progenitor as the transverse barrel-vaulted nave of the churches in the Tur Abdin. The convent of Mar Gabriel had been built perhaps three hundred years, at that time; the type of it is repeated at least four times in the same region, it was throughout the Middle Age one of the greatest, richest and most celebrated of Jacobite convents in the whole East.<sup>8</sup>

and  
Jacobite

Among the small Cretan churches, published by Gerola, the lofty transept transverse barrel-vaulted represents a similar conception, at Alakhni, for instance, at Arkalokhori, or Evgeniki. A wider space however is interposed between this and the apse, so that the upper and lower members of the cross are marked, both without and within, by their correspondence and form a continuity to the apprehension in the exterior view, while the plan consists (besides the apse) of three wide rectangles, the central and widest vaulting perpendicular to the other two.

Cretan

In the narrowing of the entrance to the transept appears something, for a

and Coptic

Santullano

moment, strikingly oriental, like the arch of the iconostasis in Greek and Coptic churches; it is not to be repeated. By way of marking another tie between Spain and the Tur Abdin, it may be noted that Pognon<sup>9</sup> observed a curious use in the Jacobite convents there: that the monks recited the offices not in the sanctuary, but around stone tables set in the upper end of the nave, where the *coro* of a Spanish church still keeps its place. And these tables are as old as the tenth century, and even the eighth.

Under the vault of the main apse at Santullano runs an arcade on shafts with moulded bases and capitals made for them, some derived from the Visigothic Corinthian, others with crowded leaves and an abacus incised and pierced in crosses, spirals and curves, all with a twisted cord at the necking. The marble pilasters of the jamb have an impost of acanthus leaves laid flat, somewhat as at Merida but treated almost like actual thistles from the roadside; the upright is carved in a fine design of long hexagons surrounding a square to

The coro  
in the nave

make an octagon, a cross filling the centre and double or single leaf-sprays the polygon. This, like the Mozarabic marble fragment of curling scroll-work at Saragossa, seems to me a Coptic invention; the pieces have been cut down here at top and bottom to fit.<sup>10</sup>

Exotic designs

Everything, says the Monk of Albelda,<sup>11</sup> the King adorned diligently with arches and columns of marble, with gold and silver, and so with the royal palace, which he decorated with divers pictures, all in the Gothic way, as they were at Toledo—in church and palace alike. Baths too he built, according to Sebastian, and a fair Government House, and he made all things necessary for a realm very fair. Indeed the Camara Santa still shows a few of these, and fair they are: among them the Cross of the Angels.

The Cross  
of the  
Angels



Ramiro I, who followed him, ruled only eight years, and was harried by the Normans, but he built S. Maria de Naranco,

Naranco

Naranco which with its mighty vault seemed yet more marvellous. The success and stability of the Camara Santa, with its low-browed crypt beneath, may have commended the experiment to Ramiro's architect, who was such another as Tioda, of a great and hardy invention. This was the first completely stone-built fabric raised in Spain within the memory of a man, or of his father's father. "Built without wood," repeats the Silense,<sup>12</sup> "a marvellous work": "constructed solely of stone and mortar," Sebastian testifies, "so that if you wanted to compare an edifice therewith, you could not find it in Spain." You could go nearer to find it in Asia—in Syria at the palace at Shaqqa built early in the third century. There a long hall was carried on transverse arches, which sprang from deep pilasters on either side, and these were reinforced outside by buttresses of considerable depth which are still to be seen on the south side. Below this was a lower story, entered by a door at the end, spanned by low arches corresponding to the high arches above. Dr. Butler<sup>13</sup> considers this "one of the halls

Plate XX

Strictly  
lithic  
architecture

of public assembly": it is so surprisingly like what D. Ramiro's architect devised as a *habitaculum* for the Virgin, that one wonders how he had heard, from what merchant or pilgrim, of it, still standing in the eastern city with its level floors and roofs of cloven slabs of stone. But where the third century laid a flat roof, the ninth was to turn a barrel-vault. Indeed at that time on the other edge of the desert, at Samarra and Ukhadir, long barrel-vaulted halls and passages were building for Arab princes who fled from the crowded life of cities to taste the desert wind, and moisten their lips with the milk of camels again.

In Morales' day the crypt at Naranco was a church also. The upper church is a single long rectangle, barrel-vaulted down the centre in strong bays, on stone ribs that descend above stone columns engaged in the walls and arcaded strongly; at either end the floor rises three steps; the eastern chamber is the sanctuary, the western a choir perhaps. Old drawings of the end show a wide window-arcade, as in a loggia. On the outside, buttresses stand tall,

The  
Master of  
D. Ramiro

Plate XXII  
Fig. 26

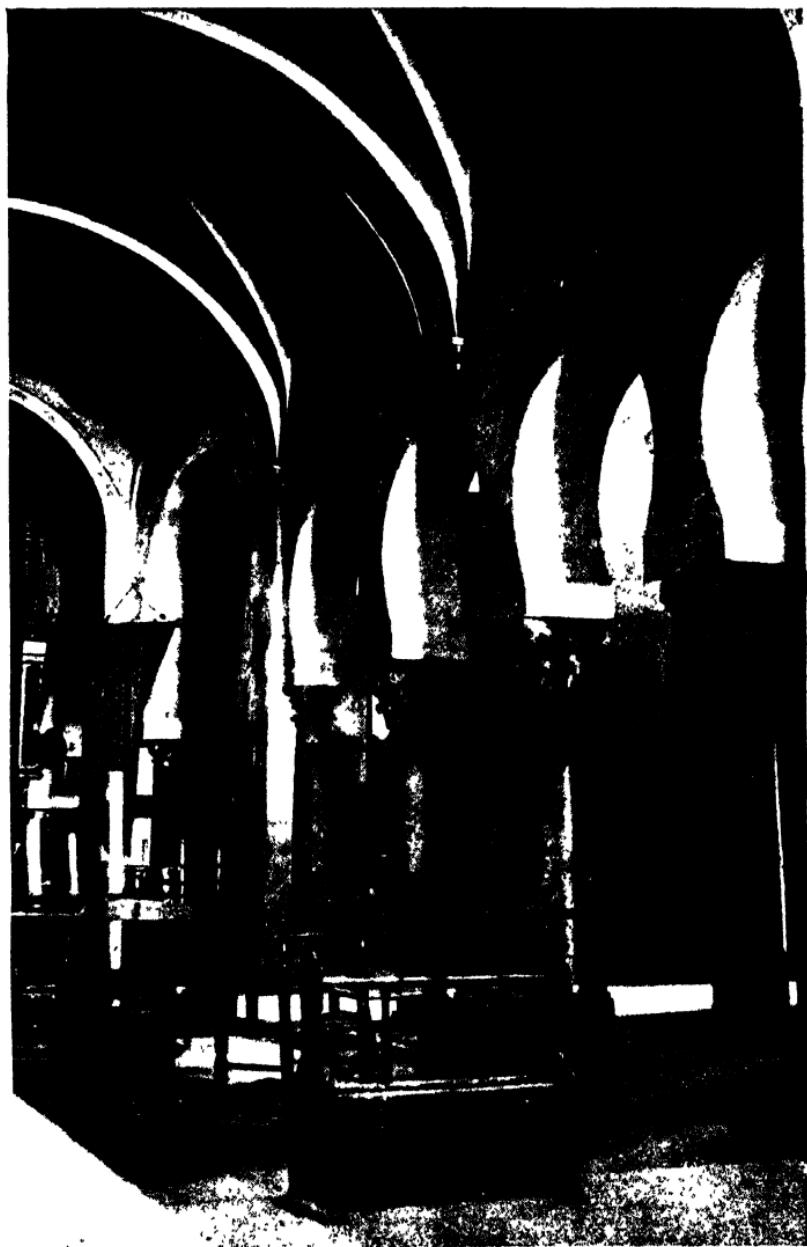
Mid-  
viii c.

Plate XXI

Fig. 24

Naranco adorned with a series of incised lines that arch around the top and bottom and turn back again, and crowned by a flat impost. The south porch, which yet stands, has its own pair of buttresses, and a band of carving built into the stonework above the arches of its three faces; the arch stones have also a set of these incised lines, of which the origin must be seen in the Syrian moulded stringcourses. Three flights of steps come up to this porch: an effect somewhat similar may be noted in Italy at the so-called temple of the Clitumnus where there is a porch but only one flight, or at Amaghu (XIII c.) in Armenia,<sup>14</sup> set on a high podium with two flights but no porch. Naranco had once a like porch on the north side, where one might stand and look across to Oviedo, but it has fallen away completely.

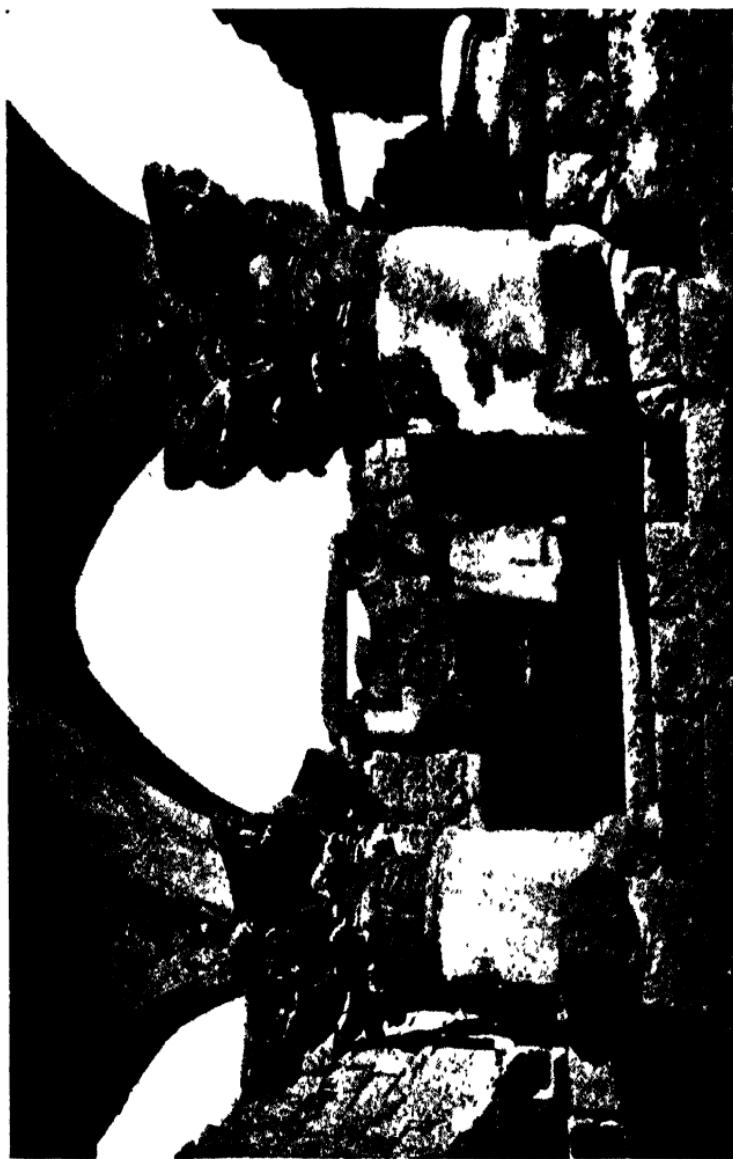
The capitals of the porch are carved with leafage, and so are those of the western loggia and little window above it, but on the main arcade inside they are trapezoidal, cut down at the angles by a triangle and divided by a twist, so that the front is



(V. p. 167)

S. Cebrian de Mazote, Nave

*Photo. G. G. K.*



(V. p 165)

Shehba, Built by Philip the Arab

*Photo H. C. Butler*

trapezoidal and the end consists of four triangles. Rude figures occupy the triangles, and four lions *affronté*, each in his own cell, are on the front. In the spandrels above the arches are set disks, another animal at the centre of each and a pattern around the rim, all the fields being bounded and defined by twists; and a curious panel, of two stages, two-celled each, connects the disk with the corbels of the vault-arches. Horsemen below, and men, above, crowning themselves, fill these panels. A moulded stringcourse runs behind the cornice, and the wall-arches are incised with a double line that turns and goes back again. The shafts are hewn to simulate a group of four, twisted spirally, always in an opposite sense.

The disks are probably by a different hand, for the work on them is excellent. The remainder of the carving is inexpert; some one is copying designs he understands but cannot perfectly imitate. The work is, for instance, far more skillful than the living creatures in the eighth-century work at Cividale, but for the Dusaris-motive

Carving  
Plate XIX

Naranco there no parallel exists here: the artist has risked all on his human and animal figures. In short, the sculpture is better than the ninth century can muster elsewhere in Europe.

*Baños  
huertos  
y jardines*

Palace in  
use 1511

Here at Naranco the king built a palace, baths and a church, upon the hillside, a complete royal residence in short. In the place called Ligno, says the Monk of Albelda, he built a church and a palace, vaulted, *arte fornicea mire construxit*,<sup>15</sup> and Sebastian of Salamanca, who was very near to Ramiro in place and time, describes the vaulting exactly:

Interea supradictus Rex Ecclesiam condidit in memoriam S. Mariae in latere montis Naurantii, distante ab Oveto duorum millia passuum, mire pulchritudinis, perfectique decoris: et ut alia decoris ejus taceam, cum pluribus centris forniceis sit concamerata, sola calce et lapide constructa, cui si aliquis aedificium consimilare voluerit, in Hispania non inveniet. Multa non longe a supradicta Ecclesia condidit Palatia, et balnea pulchra atque decora: nam adversus

Sarracenos bis praeliavit, et victor extitit.  
Completo autem anno regni sui septimo,  
Oveto in pace quievit cum uxore sua  
Domna Paterna, Era DCCCLXXXVIII  
(i. e. A. D. 850).

By the time of the Silense the situation is confused. He wrote under Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII about the beginning of the twelfth century when French Romanesque was in vogue and a century and a half had elapsed. To the church in the place called Ligno, dedicated to the Archangel, he applies the praise of S. Maria, "which whosoever saw testified to be fairer than anything he ever saw anywhere"; then the account of the building in sheer stone, "sine ligno, miro opere, inferius superiusque cumulatum," is transferred to the palace, and to reconcile this with past chronicles, he has it handed over to the Blessed Mother of God later on; in which later chroniclers have too often followed him. But Morales was wary, and related explicitly that he saw the ruins of the palace near S. Maria and that Luke of Tuy was wrong. Now Morales was a

The  
Silense  
knows less

than  
Morales

Naranco

*Quia verum  
est testi-  
monium eius*S. Tirso  
of Toledo

trained ecclesiologist, who had visited every known church in northwestern Spain, and his testimony must outweigh any other man's, living or dead, and his opinion overbalance every other, whether French or Italian.

Yet since the method of dividing a long rectangular single-naved church into three parts, as here and at S. Cristina is done, has made such a stumbling-block for ecclesiologists, it is worth while to cite a Spanish parallel. The ruins of the church of S. Tirso, in Toledo, were discovered and published in the reign of Philip II by the *Corregidor*, D. Alonso de Cárcamo: it had a single nave in which deep piers, carrying a column half-sunk in the face and supporting a depressed horseshoe arch, marked off a chamber at the rear and another, shallower, opposite for sanctuary. The vestibule and the long central bay had rectangular niches, sunk in the side walls and spanned by horseshoe arches, serving to enlarge the vestibule symmetrically, but less explicable in the nave. The roof was a heavy barrel-vault, somewhat depressed,

except in the vestibule, which was a little stilted. Masses of stonework going off at right angles from the walls must represent adjoining structures but their function of abutment remains active: the same scheme buttressed the huge barrel-vaults of Hatra. The inevitable parallel is found in the Tur Abdin,<sup>16</sup> at Mar Yakub, and some ruins on the left below Mar Philoxenos, at Midyat.

The votive inscription on the altar was found only in 1884: it is this:

† Christe Filius Dei qui in uterum virginale Beatae Mariae ingressus es sine humana conceptione et egressus sine corruptione qui per famulum tuum Ranimirum principe gloriosum cum Paterna regina coniuge renovasti hoc habitaculum nimia vetustate consumptum et pro eis aedificasti hanc haram benedictionis gloriosae sanctae Mariae in locum hunc sanctum exaudi eos de coelorum habitaculo tuo et dimitte peccata eorum que vivas et regnas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Die VIII<sup>o</sup> Kalendas iulias era DCCCLXXXVI<sup>a</sup>.

Fig. 20

At S. Maria

the Altar-  
stone

A. D. 848

Naranco

That is to say, they consecrated a church to the Virgin on the fourth of July, A. D. 848, in a spot where had been an ancient shrine. What the records testify, the sight and the judgement confirm. To all it will be plain that while building of this sort could not be conceived by the Romanesque imagination, yet it could not be older than mid-ninth century, with its new comprehension of equilibrium and of imaginative beauty possible in movement within enclosed space. The same vaulting scheme was worked out, as already said, in the Arab palaces of Mesopotamia, in the same centuries: the wall arcade, the longitudinal set of the room, are alike, but the logic of building here at S. Maria is carried farther.

S. Cristina  
de Lena

That S. Cristina de Lena<sup>17</sup> is by the same architect and the same artists we are compelled to believe: difference in the ground plan hardly touches the essential likeness of the interiors. This church however is smaller over all, and shorter, by more than

half, in the central hall. Four arches span it and two disks carry their characteristic carving, though all the carved ornamentation is somewhat simplified in this mountain sanctuary set above a pass and main road, indeed, but far from any city. The pendant panel contains a horseman, the disk below, a wolf, and both are framed simply in a double twist. The eastern member is raised four steps and closed by a true inconostasis, that goes no higher than the wall arcade; at the rear wall, eastward, a wide and mighty round arch supports the roof with somewhat the same effect as the arches in the Pretorium at Musmieh, and in the lunette below a square window is set and filled with a pierced marble. In the east wall two square recesses flank a door, the jambs carrying coupled columns on the inner and western faces, and beyond lies a square apse with a single transverse arch, and an east window of three lights, like those in Oviedo. The lateral windows however are deeply splayed, ending at the top in a shell-cusping like those in the mosque of Ibn-Tulun at Cairo, which they

Plate XXII

Barrel-vault

Plate XXIII

Lena

Plate  
XXIII

Fig. 22

antedate. The disposition at the west is a little different: in the raised part two flanking chambers are cut off to serve for the sacristies which the Mozarabic rite, like the oriental, requires; a porch beyond corresponds to the sanctuary, with jamb-shafts facing—it has the effect of a true porch, like that at Baños. Two more chambers, about the same size and shape, fill out the arms of the cross, opening by wooden doors from the nave. Buttresses are everywhere: two on the projecting arms of the cross, and two at each end of the side walls, where a thrust comes. The artist here has taken a cross plan and disguised it both within and without: the long level of the nave roof, the long rectangle of the interior, give a semblance rather basilican than cruciform.

The columns of the iconostasis are smooth, and in the space between its upper and lower arches are set some pierced marbles, some in horseshoe form; the parapet that stands in the central bay is composed of five upright panels carved with motives chiefly Syrian; crosses in the



(V. p. 169)

S. Cebrian de Mazote

*Photo. G. G. K.*



(V. p. 183)

The Church of Bamba

*Photo. G. G. K.*

In the Campos de los Godos



(V. p. 168)

S. Cebrian de Mazote, Capitals

Photos. G. G. K.

central row of disks, rosettes, and two vine patterns with large clusters of grapes. Across and along this is awkwardly disposed an inscription which probably imports that Abbot Flaino—early in the tenth century such a person lived—gave something, perhaps images of SS. Peter and Paul. It is strange that Alfonso the Great, in his statement of 905, makes no mention of the place, but the architect of S. Maria must have the credit of S. Cristina. I should suppose this to be his last work, more experimental and perhaps less happy.

Plate  
XXIV



An earlier work of his stands on the Naranco hillside, a stone's throw above S. Maria, in the chapel dedicated to the Archangel *in Excelsis*, S. Miguel de Linio. The steep slope was built up on retaining walls to make a level site, and perhaps the brook once flowed farther off which has cut a gully just eastward; at any rate, sometime between the ninth century and the sixteenth the east end fell and was repaired

S. Miguel  
de Linio

Plate XXV

Linio

from the original materials, for the church which Morales<sup>18</sup> saw was about the size of the present one; but again the east end must have fallen and been patched up awkwardly, for we cannot find the "twelve columns of the best" which he admired in the east end, of divers jaspers, well-placed, with much ornament.

Fig. 23

We have been used to think of S. Miguel as a perfect instance of the cross-inscribed, the central lantern rising well above the barrel-vaulted arms, and the corners at the west filled in by two-storied chapels that allow a staircase behind; and to assume that similar chapels flanked a square apse of slight or greater projection beyond them, arcaded around within upon marble shafts. This east end was enclosed by an iconostasis or parapets, for among seven slabs that have survived one is bordered above and below with daisy, helix and lily-motives within scrolls, and contains a superb griffin; one of the miniature posts which held the slabs carries three men, each above other, no better worked than those at S. Maria de Naranco. The lofty centre was conceived

Griffin

as two bays long. It befell however in 1917 that Sr. Llano Roza did some excavating around the eastern part of the church, and uncovered foundations so far to the eastward, that we are compelled to allow at least four bays to the nave. The resultant silhouette represents an experiment in combining the cross-church with the barrel-vaulted basilican or "barn church," buttressed by the barrel-vaults at successively lower levels of lofty aisles and lesser angle chapels, further abutted by true buttresses on the exterior. The aisle-vaults, turned on the north-and-south axis, would have many parallels in Anatolia, for instance one which lies under Maden Dagh.<sup>19</sup>

Recent  
excavation

As in all this work of the Reconquest, round arches alone are used, but the windows are set within a rectangular label, opening below in two or three arches, and filled in the upper half with pierced work of wheel or net; a rose also survives in the west gable of the nave. These forms are all exquisite and quite oriental, rather Byzantine; the only Italian parallels must be sought at Grado and Ravenna. The

Pierced  
work of the  
windows

Linio

Plate V

carvers, as always happens, did better with vegetable than living forms, and least well of all with the human, but they copied what came to hand. Thus the famous door-jambs, representing games in the circus, are taken from a consular diptych, enlarged by repeating the top panel at the bottom and framed in a very beautiful imbricated design of laurel-leaves or palm-trunk. About the bases of the great columnar piers within goes an arcade on coupled shafts, three arches to a side, and within them little figures which similarly reproduce an ivory of the Annunciation: a Mary reading, a winged Gabriel louting low, and then another Mary to fill out. In the spandrels between are such heads as figured on the capitals at Nave, that resemble closely the countenance of the Evangelical creature carved at Cividale for the Patriarch Sigualdo, toward the close of the eighth century; indeed they figured on the palace front of the Parthian Hatra, where some archaeologists would have them representing the scalps of the enemy, curing in the sun. They afford a picturesque

possibility of decoration wherever the hand is not up to the imagination.

These little arcades about the bases, which have much exercised many ecclesiologists, form a common Byzantine theme: an instance from southern Asia Minor, a Byzantine frieze, used over in the fourteenth century, is published by the Italian school at Athens;<sup>20</sup> Cattaneo has drawings of ninth-century fragments from S. Marco and Grado; the great sixth-century example is found on capitals at the Tag-i-Bostan; and a parallel case on a superb and very Greek capital from pre-Visigothic Merida carries the theme back to the third century, while showing how the derivation is from architecture (from Ctesiphon to Lucca it dominates the builder) and not from ornament though indeed it was adapted and used on the Crowns of Guerrazar. The pier-capital at S. Miguel which answers to this base is occupied by rosettes, in compartments defined by the twist but no longer rigidly straight-lined, and along the abacus runs a delicate leaf-motive in alternating curls.

Arcade-  
ornament,  
instances  
vi-ix c.

From  
Adalia

Plate III

Linio

Scroll and flower

burgeon early

A beautiful scroll of leaf-pattern is carried up the jamb adjoining, and as the vine-motive over the tribune doors (that open to the stairways) is just as finely carved with helix and flower, and unquestionably made for its place, we must credit some sculptor with a free and lovely invention, working from models. The king Ramiro ransacked his treasury to supply these, and doubtless drained it deep to pay for them, and the fruit was a lovely monument in which the lordly sixteenth century admired not only the wealth of fair ornament, but the fabric, fair, apt and proportionate, "so that in this tiny building is such fair proportion and correspondency that the best of our artists would think well to consider and praise it."

From all of this it appears that a Western branch of Christian architecture comparable in all ways to the Greek or the Armenian, had burgeoned and begun to flower at an earlier date than either.



Alfonso III the Great took his bye-name from conquest: not so King Silo, who was a man of peace, and King Ramiro, who beat off the Normans but loved the leafy mountain-flanks and the rushing stream, and retired from the hot city in the valley-bottom, with its factious nobles and contentious bishops, to a country seat with his wife Paterna, as the Arab princes, his contemporaries, fled to palaces on the edge of the desert. Alfonso III founded an abbey, dedicating it to the Saviour, among the Cantabrian hills above Villaviciosa, where blue tidal estuaries run far up between the knees of the mountain, and from above the grassy flanks enclosing Val de Dios<sup>21</sup> you may see the white flash of waves upon the bar. A consecration stone in the lateral porch (which may refer to that alone, or to the whole edifice) records with pomp and piety the date of September 16, 893, and the presence of seven bishops. Rudesind of Dumio, Nanthis of Coimbra, Sisnandus of Iria, Ranulf of Astorga, Argemir of Lamego, and Recared of Lugo—good Visigothic names still, are these. *Hoc templum*, says

Val de Dios

*Donde  
holgar yo  
me solid*

Cf. p. 176

Val de Dios the stone: yet it is hard to believe half a century has elapsed since the church of the Archangel was reared among the chestnut-woods at Naranco. The plan here is basilican, three-aisled, with narthex and south porch, and at the square east end the central chapel projecting a little. It is the same as that of Santiafies and S. Tirso, keeping the narthex half-anticipated by the one, and the side-porch that belonged to the other, and omitting the eastern transept of Santullano. The low arches of the nave arcade are carried on small responds and three square masonry piers, the narthex walls continuing the same line; engaged columns stand at the entrance to each apse and in the door-jambs at the west; buttresses on the west abut the nave arcade, but on the side walls stand independent of interior arrangement. Within the porch the buttresses, which run up past the roof of it, are strengthened by three engaged columns, that receive a flanking arcade and transverse vaulting ribs, and a barrel-vault of five and a half bays covers the porch, the outer wall being pierced by three windows

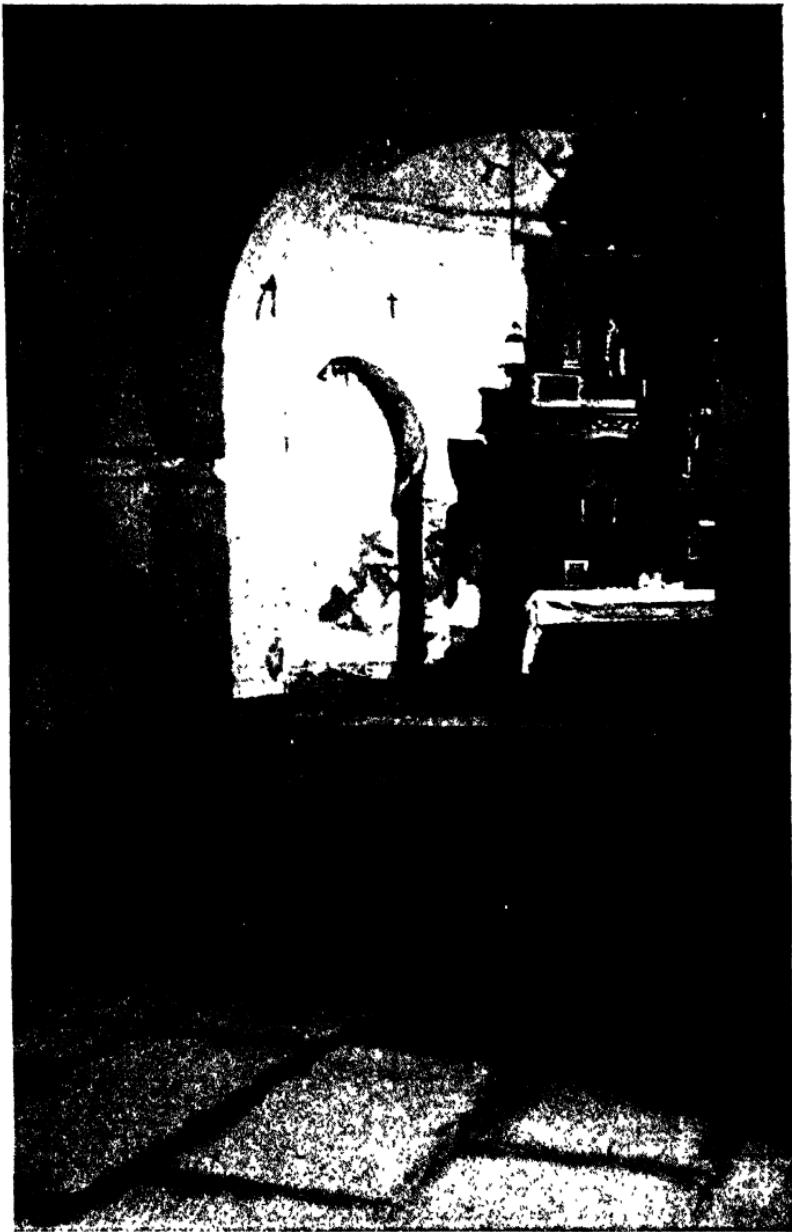
Fig. 21



(V, p. 169)

*Photo G. G. K.*

S. Cebrian de Mazote, Apses



(V. p. 175)

S. Tomás de las Ollas

*Photo. G. G. K.*

and a door corresponding to the church door. This side porch, therefore, is constructed by the same scheme of arch and pillar, balanced thrust and barrel-vault, as the church of Naranco. East of it stands a sacristy opening into the church. It is very like the cloister of Butler's southwest church at Brad, where the roof is carried on five transverse arches. The scheme of the whole comes very close indeed to such sixth-century Syrian plans<sup>22</sup> as Behyo, which however wants the narthex and puts the sacristy at the west corner, or as Khirbit Hass, or S. Sergius of Dar Kita, dated 537 and 567; the parallel is clinched by the fact that at Val de Dios all three aisles are stone-roofed, being barrel-vaulted, with a true clerestory in which one window is still original. Seen from outside, however, the low cross-arm of the sacristy, and the varying diminution of the apse roofs, echo the old Visigothic ideal of a mass *plus accidenté*, a style that draws inward and allures and lifts up. Two windows, one up in the east end and one above the west door, betray the presence of the inaccessible chambers;

Plate  
XXVIvi c.  
Syrian  
plans

Val de Dios

these like those of the clerestory and the sacristy are ajimez of two lights under a label, horseshoe, carried on three shafts and bordered, like the label, with a double twist, the same cord also serving below the capital and above the base. The apse window is similar but has three lights.

Adaptation

This label seems to me an adaptation to special conditions—for instance, the chance to cut all the arches in a single slab—of the characteristic south-Syrian stringcourse. Here, on a small scale, in freestone work, the familiar twist is used, where the long roll of the Syrian mouldings was roughly copied by incising lines in the arcades of S. Maria and S. Cristina and on all the buttresses of D. Ramiro's architect.

The capitals of windows and doors here still mark the corner triangle by which a cubical top is fitted to a round base, but a leaf is laid along the cut. Some of those in the porch, however, are quite different, worked all over in spiral and palmette designs conceived simply in two planes but reckoning on deep shadow to throw them up: this is very possibly a Mozarabic

trait. The two finest of the pierced screens, one an outline of palmettes within scrolls, the other a wider pattern, find close parallels in technique among Cattaneo's sixth-century specimens,<sup>23</sup> one from Grado and the other from Ravenna. The window from Venice of the eighth century that he has preserved, makes a poor showing beside them indeed: there is no Carolingian work in Italy<sup>24</sup> to which I can refer that will bear comparison with this of the Reconquest.

Pierced  
stone-work

better than  
Italian



S. Salvador de Priesca<sup>25</sup> lies also in the township of Villaviciosa; no less than four hermitages exist in this immediate neighborhood, and the walnut and chestnut woods flourish as well as some bushy orange-trees—a rare thing on that Cantabrian shore, though the valley of Oviedo can grow the orange in gardens. The form of the church is close to that of Val de Dios, with three parallel apses, a narthex of three chambers that open fully on the aisles and the central member, two square nave piers,

S. Salvador  
de Priesca

Fig. 25

Priesca

and T-shaped piers where the chapel walls and narthex walls receive the nave arcade; buttresses east and west and on the side walls a little east and west of the narthex arch, much as they were placed at Val de Dios; on the south side two doors, one going into a long sacristy and the other down a flight of steps, while the western half of the south wall is an open portico. The consecration stone, in its usual place, may be read either 915 or 921; the square, barrel-vaulted apse is arcaded around on six columns, the eastern arches being higher than the lateral, while other columns stand under the sanctuary arch, the whole east end being flush, and the entire church, except for the buttresses, inscribed within a rectangle like its Syrian counterparts. The inside area, be it observed, from apse window to outside door—and the vista is clear—and from one aisle wall to the other, stands roughly in the plain and pleasant ratio of 3 to 5. That the nave arcade is slightly horseshoe must be explained by the date, as in the windows of Val de Dios, not as vestige of Visigoths but as

a signal of Mozarabes. The roof was timber always.



Even more archaism marks S. Pedro de Nora.<sup>26</sup> The three parallel apses are square-ended; three piers sustain the nave; and a simple square porch projects at the west, a trifle narrower than the nave span. Buttresses abut the chapel walls at the east and the sanctuary arcade at the side. The aisles have barrel-vaults of slightly horse-shoe form, and the porch also, as I think; nave and aisles are covered by a timber roof in a single long slope each way; the nave arcade, like the other arches, is stilted and re-entrant. At the time of the First Council of Oviedo, it was assigned to the bishops of Braga and Orense for their support while attending the Council. They can hardly have lived there, nor needed it to be very rich to suffice for two suffragan bishops: the bishops of Tarazona and Huesca were quartered on the two churches at Naranco, S. Michael and S. Maria, and

S. Pedro  
de Nora

Fig. 19

Ceded to  
See in 905

Roman  
floor-  
mosaic

for those of Salamanca and Coria, both rich frontier cities, Santullano sufficed.

The original pavement of these Asturian churches, which has survived in spots and of which some bits were found only lately under the cathedral of Oviedo, was the mosaic of coloured stones beaten into stamped clay which Isidore described along with other varieties. Morales saw and admired it in the cathedral; he says: "In this church are left some scraps of a mosaic of divers stones embedded in the clay, very firm and pleasant to see."



Declination

In a striking passage,<sup>27</sup> Sr. Gómez-Moreno points out that when the political axis was shifted, in the last years of Alfonso the Great, to Castile and Leon, Asturias was left incapable of any movement other than down-grade, remaining conservative, aristocratic, impenetrable to outside influences, disposed to atavistic reactions, till the Bishop Pelayo roused the spirit of the land with his historical writings and im-

posed on it a belated French fashion which resulted in a sort of Romanesque fruitful in archaisms. Two instances of archaism occur here, both in the region of Villaviciosa, S. Salvador de Fuentes and S. Juan de Amandi. The former is a chapel of the same type as Priesca, with rectangular nave and apse, both barrel-vaulted. The apse arcade is raised at the east. A stringcourse of plait or scroll at the springing of the apse vault, and a sanctuary arch of two orders, square-edged, coming down at one side on a capital which represents Daniel embracing two lions, show that the Asturian type here is purely archaizing, which is confirmed by the consecration stone, that relates at great length how Didago Peppici and his wife Mansuara gave it, and the Bishop Adeganeo of Oviedo consecrated it, in 1023.

S. Salvador  
de Fuentes

Fig. 28

Arch of  
2 orders,  
cf. p. 199



S. Adrian de Tuñon was founded by Alfonso the Great and Queen Ximena, who dowered it on January 4, 891, giving over

S. Adrian  
de Tuñon

The  
church's  
dowry

to Abbot Samuel great wealth in jewels, vestments, flocks, territory and monasteries, precisely as though they had been marrying a daughter. The consecration took place in that year, four bishops assisting. In 1108 Abbot Eulalius restored it, if you can believe his inscription, so completely that nothing of the Reconquest remained. Luckily the church looks today much the same as ever, with square east end, three chapels, two piers, and responds in the west wall answering to those at the chapel-walls, a pair of columns under the sanctuary arch, buttresses east and west, and traces of a narthex and a south porch. The inaccessible room exists over the sanctuary, and the roof comes down in a single long gable-slope from side to side. The beams of the open timbering are decorated with a motive based on concentric semi-circles, similar to one noted at Santullano; a like motive is adapted and incised on some curious Visigothic capitals at Seville. The interlacing circle was used freely in the window-screens at S. Miguel, and superbly in the rich slabs that made the parapet at

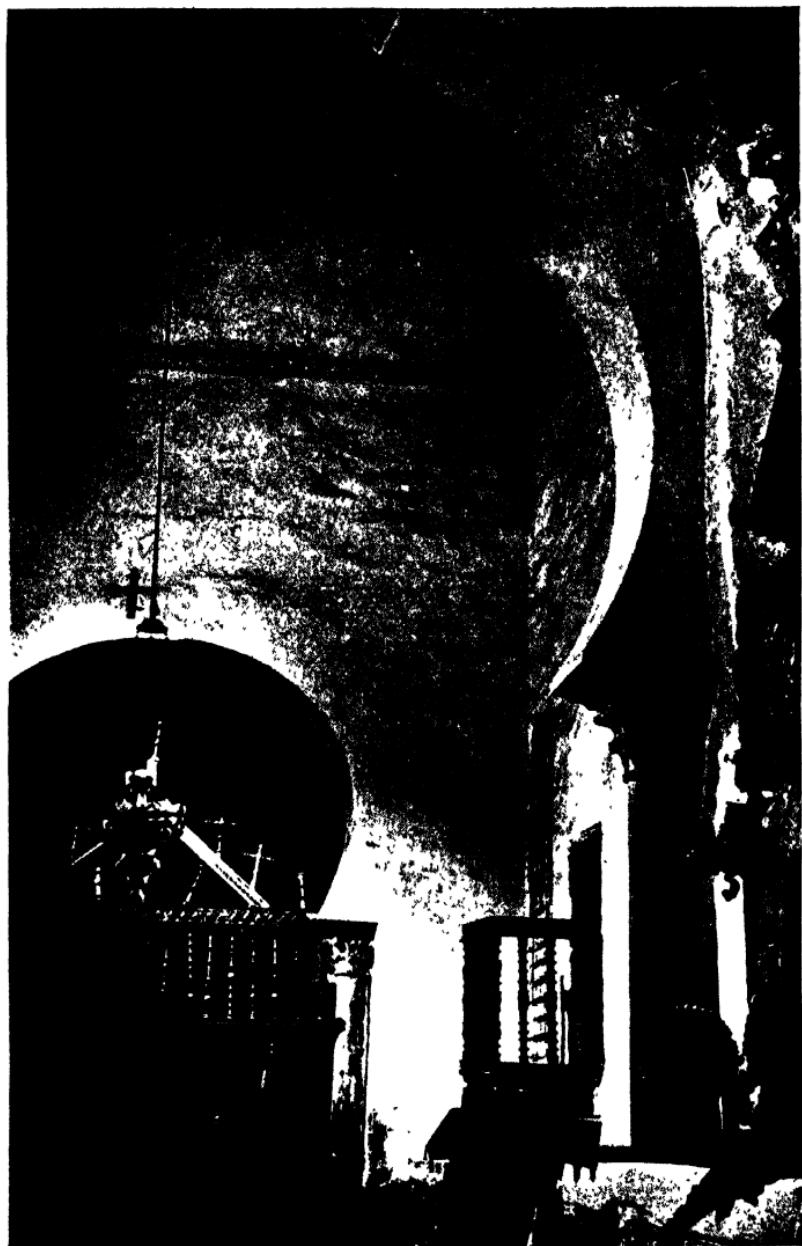
Old as  
Minoan  
Crete



(V. p. 170)

*Photo. G. G. K.*

Santiago de Peñalba, Eastern Apse



(V. p. 174)

Peñalba, the Western Apse

*Photo. G. G. K.*

Santiañes, in a pattern that recurs, much simplified, on capitals at Ani<sup>28</sup> cathedral. And these, I take it, circles and semicircles, are among the few vestiges of a "barbaric" Visigothic art, *i. e.*, from the Danube or the Black Sea.

Barbaric art



To sum up: the principal decorative motives new in the architecture of Tioda and King Ramiro's master, with their for-runners and followers, are these: the twist, the arcade, the triangle, the channelled lines on buttress and arch. Of these the twist is probably "barbaric" also though very widely primitive, at any rate it is common in Visigothic jewellery; the arcade has been accounted for as Byzantine; the triangle had already appeared at S. Pedro de la Nave and at Mshatta. The channelling is a Syrian imitation, like the star, daisy, helix, etc., already accepted.

Decorative motives



Architectural motives

The architectural motives are: the level east end, the arcaded apse, the inaccessible chamber, the side porch, the barrel-vaulted nave, and buttresses; more than this, a novel conception of building by arches and supports, leaving the remainder of the wall free of stress, using columns with arches both longitudinal and transverse, buttresses, and a barrel-vault that rests upon the arches. At It-Tuba,<sup>29</sup> in Northern Syria, by A. D. 583 the skillful builders laid complicated arches suitable for a vaulting system, but they never turned the vault; in Asturias by A. D. 848 the thing was done, in the midst of the Carolingian age.

Buttresses

Buttresses were identified as existing in the third century at Shaqqa, offsetting the transverse arches of a long hall, flat-roofed with slabs of stone. The free apse of a small chapel at Il-Barah<sup>30</sup> is abutted by two diagonal buttresses; this may be later than the fourth-century church which it adjoins; at Timgad the sixth-century basilican church may have had five such. The next occurrence is the Asturian, and this use was to be discontinued for a while,

when Mozarabes brought from the south the dome and semi-dome, except in Asturian survivals, and not resumed entirely until the time of Alfonso VI in the epoch of Cluniac invasion.

The other motives, rectangular east end, south porch, and upper chamber, may all be followed back into Syria. Nor can this age be quitted without noting how ancient and long-established a Syrian use is represented by the flanking chambers at east and west. Striking pagan instances are the temple (II c.) of Zeus at Kanawat (and in other buildings there, the disposition of the east end), the temple at Slem, the temple at Dmer, dated A. D. 245. Later, such churches as Midjleyya in the fourth century, Btirsa in the fifth, and in the sixth S. Sergius at Dar Kita, A. D. 537, the West church at Dehes, the East church of Bakirha, A. D. 546, continue the tradition unaltered and culminate in the Bizzos church of Ruweha.<sup>31</sup>

Plan

in Syria

As the age of Christian building in Syria draws to a close, the sober beauty of Mshabbak with its fifth-century clerestory

Beauty of  
Syrian  
prototypes

anticipating  
Roman-  
esque

is enhanced in the grace of Bankusa (the so-called South church) with free apse and western portico and side porches like a "Lombard" cathedral somewhere on the Via Emilia, and the noble strength of Kalb Lauzeh, its twin towers, its mighty apse with columns and corbels like an abbey somewhere on the Camino de Santiago, flowers lastly into the splendour of the pilgrimage-shrine at Kalat-Siman, where three superb apses confront the sunrise still. In all these and many more our western Romanesque was anticipated and expressed five centuries ahead of its due time. Indeed M. Dieulafoy in his erudite and impassioned discussion of early Spanish architecture, though guarded in every phrase—as a subtle woman may convey an innuendo yet speak no word for repetition—imposes somehow the implication that contact between Spain and the East was never broken, the influences were never arrested, the debt was never intermitted.<sup>22</sup>

The arcading around the inside of the apse<sup>23</sup> is perhaps a Coptic motive. When the apse is treated like a niched exedra

there seems an African source, as at Kef in the Dal el Rous (of the age of Justinian) and Haidra; or at Khakh in the Tur Abdin with its foundations of Egyptian monks and its possible connections with Spain in the Reconquest; this recurs on the Cantabrian coast in S. Juan de Amandi which though twelfth-century building has in its history a date of 634, and shows signs of being, like the church of Fuentes, in the current of a very ancient tradition. Now give that tradition to the Asturian builder, with his congenital shrinking from curved wall-surfaces, and he turns you out such an arcading as may be seen at Santullano, Priesca, and Fuentes. At Marmaschen in Armenia Prince Bahram "with great cost and great labour" in the eleventh century built a great church adorned with another variant of the motive, that had been anticipated when the Catholicos Nerses the Builder at the end of the eighth century built a church in his own town of Ischchan—unless indeed the arcading about the apse there be due to Georgian rebuilding. Between Nerses, the

Apse-  
arcadingS. Juan de  
AmandiThe  
Caucasus

Mono-  
physite  
theology

Mesopotamian Jacobite convents, and Spain, no longer Arian, one tie exists, the theological, and the clue may be discoverable where the origin of Monophysite doctrine is to be found, in Egypt.



## III

With the great civilization of Cordova here is no concern. As the Hispano-Romans lived in the south under the Visigothic kings and were not yet amalgamated when the Moslem invasion broke, so still they lived on in Seville under the Caliphs; and elsewhere flourished a Mozarabic population, now complicated by a strong Gothic admixture, the remnant of broken armies, women and slaves left behind, lost children, or small proprietors who preferred their farms and chestnut woods to the granite and oak of the Picos de Europa. This was beaten into the earlier Andalusian stock by the trampling armies of Muza and Tarik and Almanzor, just as in the north the people was welded into one by a common hardship and danger. Intermarriage with the Arabs was probably not uncommon, for a Christian wife might retain her own faith; but that would not affect the Mozarabic population of the cities. They kept

The  
Mozarabic  
epoch

Mozarabic  
art in  
the south

their churches and monasteries, as already said, and repaired them, and actually did build enough to keep their craftsmanship alive, and living often in a separate quarter or suburb, preserved their old patterns and methods to a surprising extent. When the Mozarabic monks came north, early in the tenth century, they brought to King Alfonso a style not identical indeed with that which Roderick had seen submerged, but an outgrowth of it as normal as Tioda's and that of the Master of D. Ramiro. Possibly some remnant of the guild organization which obtained in Rome and Constantinople both, had helped to keep this Christian tradition of church building intact, side by side with an Arab tradition of mosque-building. Meantime Cordovan refugees went to Egypt in 817, and the metallic lustre ware made first at Cordova was copied at Damascus; while on a counter-current were borne the capitals of tenth-century churches in Leon,<sup>1</sup> carved in marble of the Proconesus.

In miniature painting the double line of transmission seems not to be traced: the



*Photo. E. H. Lowther*

In the Convent Cabbage-Patch



(V. p. 179)

*Photo. E. H. Lowber*

S. Miguel de Celanova, Nave and Sanctuary

Minor  
arts all  
oriental

Bible of S. Isidore of Leon repeats a theme found in Coptic frescoes of the sixth century,<sup>3</sup> thereafter to be acclimated in Spain; and the Bible of Seville, the great Hispanensis, along with compositions that suggest a Byzantine dome-mosaic, preserves figures of striking Persian aspect. Nor did it hold with textiles, or ceramics; perhaps indeed the truth is that all the potters and weavers were of Arab strain. Of the three *tiraceros*, or silk-weavers, who settled in the town of Pajarejos far up in Leon, one certainly had an Arab name.<sup>3</sup>

The gradual interpenetration of the two peoples, between the Cantabrian hills and the Guadarrama, is the story of the tenth century. Where S. Valerius had dwelt in the Vierzo in the sixth century, S. Genadius rebuilt, in 895, S. Pedro de Montes.<sup>4</sup> The Arab story of Zamora<sup>5</sup> is suggestive:

Isa ben Ahmed says: And in that year (893) Alfonso the son of Ordoño King of Galicia set out for the city of Zamora, the unpeopled, and built it and made it a city, and fortified it and peopled it with Christians, and restored all

Zamora  
repeopled  
893

its boundaries. The builders were Toledo folk, and the defenses were reared at the cost of a Gentile [Christian] man among them. So, then, from that moment the city began to flourish, and its settlements went on uniting one to another and the peoples of the frontier came to take a place therein.

Religions of all sorts were moving northward. In the middle of the ninth century, under Abd-er-Rahman II, the Zealots of Cordova had satisfied their thirst of martyrdom in despite of the Moslem government and their own bishops. Flora died in 851, in 859 Eulogius and Leocricia, whose relics came north in the time of Alfonso III enclosed in the marble sarcophagus that has been already considered. Then Seville rose in the autumn of 889. Having risen against Toledo in the name of Hermengild, just about three hundred years before, the same Hispano-Roman aristocracy, rich, skeptical and more than ever civilized by contact with the finest spirits of the Arabs, had for the most part embraced Islam, and now rose in the name of Omar Ibn Hafsun,

himself a Renegade of Visigothic lineage. They were slaughtered in Seville and Elvira to the point of annihilation, and the Arabs took over their wealth: this was the real passing-hour of the old Christian civilization of Spain. As, at Troy and Nineveh, one city was levelled to build another on it, so the ruin at Seville in the end of the ninth century made a place for the Cordovan Caliphate under Abd-er-Rahman III to grow strong and splendid, unhindered and unmodified, purely Moslem and Eastern. Abdallah, his predecessor, spent a long reign in reducing the little renegade kingdoms that had come up, varying in importance from Saragossa and Toledo down to Merida, Archidona and Babastro. His successors, Al-Hakem and Hixem II, were to call the kings of Leon and Navarre their tributaries, and raid the north as sovereigns who take the field against recalcitrant vassals. For Christians in the south the situation was not so easy as before: in Cordova the ten years' fever of the Zealots had left bad feeling; and Seville the slaughter and looting had made unsuitable

The  
slaughter  
of the  
Renegades

as a residence, poor and discredited. To this must be added the rigidity of one Moslem law where many were easy: for any renegade, or the son of one, who apostatized to Christianity, the penalty was death. And by a familiar principle which acted probably in Spain as elsewhere a religion is never so likely to make good converts as when it is in the sorest straits.

Samos  
Abbey  
S. Julian  
chapel  
S. Michael

Fig. 27

As early as the opening of the ninth century, in the reign of Froila, came to Samos in Galicia the Abbot Argeric and his sister Sarra; under Ramiro, Bishop Fatalix took refuge there, and in 852 followed two Cordovans, one called Audo-fried, and the other a priest; finally they were joined by Abbot Offilon, with a priest called Vincent and a nun Maria. To this foundation may belong the tiny chapel of S. Miguel, yet standing at Samos, so old that none can guess the age.<sup>6</sup> The abbey thrived and annexed another like it, established in 785 by Adilan, the son of Egila, who had emigrated with his family. Monks had gone over from Samos then, among them an architect, Aviolus, *editor*

*et mazon*, “qui cum propria manu misit fundamentum in illam ecclesiam.”

Under Alfonso III the Andalusian Christians settled in Leon: to Sebastian, the exiled bishop of Ercavica, the king gave the see of Orense; for abbot Alfonso and his fellows he bought, in 904, the ruined church of SS. Facundus and Primitivus. Similar exiles from Cordova founded Escalada, Mazote, and Castañeda. The nunnery of Vime, in Sanabria, was a refuge for Doña Palmaria and her companions, from the land of the Moors; and elsewhere is found a record of Abbot Martin the Cordovan.

Abbot  
Alfonso  
at Sahagun

Abad Juan  
at Cas-  
tañeda

Chronicles  
of Castile



The record of the Chronicles for the years that intervene between the death of Alfonso III and the accession of Ferdinand the Great, makes sorry reading. The states of the north were partitioned and reunited in combinations various and rarely happy. Navarre infrequently, Castile and Galicia reluctantly, came under the Leonese crown. The second Ordoño, the second

Medina-coeli

The Poem  
of the Cid

Ramiro, won signal victories over the armies of the Caliphate, the former at S. Estéban de Gormaz, the latter at Simancas and elsewhere; but Ordoño, his allies failing him, suffered grievous defeat at Val de Junquera, and Ramiro, when the Count Fernan González had rebelled, lost Medina-coeli. Like Saragossa, this ancient Aragonese city was to be long a centre of Moslem culture, and here shortly before the middle of the twelfth century the *Poem of the Cid* was to be composed by a Mozarabic *juglar*. Wide regions of reconquered Spain lived more or less frankly under Arab suzerainty through long intervals of the tenth century. The unfortunate Sancho the Fat, made ridiculous by his infirmity and living in exile, was befriended by Abd-er-Rahman, cured by a Jewish physician whom the Caliph sent up to Pamplona, and died finally, after victorious fighting, of poison. In the next generation the great Moorish captain Almanzor was raiding the north every season; with the various kings and their rebellious nobility he formed alliances and dissolved them at will. His

name carried terror, his armies wasted the land from Navarre to Galicia, and his greatest exploit was when he sacked the shrine of the Apostle at Compostella but spared the old monk who knelt beside the tomb. In 1002, says the Chronicle of Burgos, Almanzor died and was buried in hell; by the time of Alfonso V the princes and captains of the south sought alliances in Castile and paid for them with territories and strongholds that they ceded. Thereafter a strong alliance between Navarre, Castile and Leon, cemented by intermarriage, gave to the north a breathing-space. The story of the Bloody Wedding tells of the murder of Count Garcia of Castile; his nephew Ferdinand, the king of Navarre's son, married the Leonese princess who was to have been his bride. This prince called himself king of Castile, conquered Leon and Galicia, and succeeded to the dead kings by right of blood. Six years before, the Caliphate had fallen. In 1037 he began to reign; his name in history is Ferdinand the Great.

Almanzor

Ferdinand  
of Castile

His triumph marks the close of the epoch with which this book is concerned. He was the Cid's friend, the father of Alfonso VI who took Toledo; in his reign Romanesque architecture was well begun.



Leonese  
civilization

This is only one aspect, the Northern. During the century and a quarter since the focus of the Reconquest had been transferred from Oviedo to Leon, life had gone on at the capital following a normal process. Disengaged from the feudal and military organization, impregnated with Arab culture, it grew richer, more splendidly civilized, more humane.

Leonese documents of the epoch are full of Arab names appended as those of witnesses: priests and deacons, more than a hundred, eighteen abbots, two abbesses, two *prepositos* and various monks. This count includes the tenth century, but as early as 878 a single sentence given in Astorga before king, bishop and court had contained no less than ten Arab names, one



V. p. 185)

*Photo. G. G. K.*

The Church of Bamba, South Aisle and Apse



(V. p. 184)

*Photo. G. G. K.*

The Church of Bamba, Nave Arcade

Mozarabic  
admixture

a priest's. Plenty such men were about the kings, or appointed by them: a count, ten judges, five sheriffs, and two or three royal servants acting in judicial capacity. Thence downward in the scale, in civic or country life, the Moorish names abound; Sr. Gómez-Moreno has classified 163 in Leon alone, and counted many hundreds among the educated citizens, cattle raisers, and husbandmen of Leon and Castile. Many of these Mozarabes had a double name, Visigothic with an Arab patronymic sometimes—Recemirus ibn December, Sisnando abu Amir, again Moslem surnames made with the familiar Castilian genitive, Gonsalvo Validiz, for instance, and Peter Habibiz. Further, there are all the slaves, prisoners of war or bought in regular commerce, who are attached to estates or monasteries, inherited or bestowed. These were commoner in Galicia and the Vierzo, the free Arabized population in Castile and Leon. The Iberian soil was drinking up the brown flood. The Arab tongue will have been freely spoken in the cities, among the educated class and perhaps the Jews,

Things  
and ways  
exotic and  
luxurious

Kingly and  
customary

and in certain monasteries; the country folk all using their own Romance. The list of geographic names tends to confirm this, as do the Arab words, names of objects and functions, that occur in Latin texts, social and civic relations yielding a high proportion, and also words connected with travel and city life. The names of luxuries and exotic imports, articles of dress and furniture, colours and stuffs, throw a strange-hued brilliant light on sees and courts; the life of Enrique IV among his supple Moorish attendants in his exquisite Mudéjar palaces is seen no longer as the abnormal and corrupt lascivity of one God-abandoned, as German travellers and his sister's historians preferred to see it,<sup>7</sup> but as the common kingly way of life that the tenth century inaugurated and Spain had never disused.

The mysticism of the desert passed into the brains and the veins of these Castilians and Leonese, and the apocalyptic terrors of Syrian dreamers broke again over their heads. The *Commentaries* of Beatus of Liébana mark the end of a world: for that

fear of the year 1000 which oppressed the French and Rhenish mind, was substituted "a mysticism of terrible virility that inspired these paintings and these texts, evoking a new emotion and a new ideal, the antithesis of the classic, which was to inform the art of the latter Middle Age throughout all Europe, but which Spain anticipated by nearly two centuries,—precipitated by the tension of spirit, the struggle of ideas, the stimuli that the close approximation of Moors and Christians produced."<sup>8</sup>

The painting of these pages is unlike anything else: the strong deep colours that cover all the picture with bands, for instance, of green, yellow and violet, as the ocean shows bands of colour under approaching tempest; the monsters, seven-headed, hundred-eyed, or horned and striped, saddled and bridled to bear a queen pacing slowly against the pale lift of an amber horizon, the golden cup of trembling uplifted in silhouette against purple heavens; the shrouded figure with fluttering birds about him that are *las animas*; the

Commentaries of  
Beatus

and  
New York  
and Paris

London

Madrid and  
Seo de Urgel

From  
oriental  
sources

a  
Spanish  
art

angel of a more terrible Pentecost brooding over a city's flames, *ubi Babilon id est iste mundus ardet*. There the gate is a long horseshoe, the walls are tile-faced and crowned with stepped battlements, and between the mounting towers open arcaded loggias of airy horseshoe curvature on colonnettes. Here an angel set against a field of scarlet and blue inverts his chalice over a dropping sunflower, and the human figures on a pale band beneath would screen their heads or flee—dressed in the decent tunic, trews, and full short cloak of their epoch, patterned over with splendours: and elsewhere, to commence S. John's Gospel, under a mighty horseshoe arch, that encloses the eagle-headed creature emergent from heraldic bands, varicoloured, stand the grave wide-winged angels, with solemn gesture and unmoved countenance, *Vox clamantis in deserto*. These strong-hued, strongly-conceived inventions are not all wholly Mozarabic, the arch is often of the elder, Visigothic curvature, the figures are far from the Persian hunting-eagle and Mithraic bull, the tur-

baned Micah and cross-legged Nahum of the *Biblia Hispalensis* but they proceed from convents, scattered all along the north, from Escalada and Liébana to Ripoll and Urgel, where the ancient Toledan tradition was impregnated by imaginings of those whose thirst for heaven is like the desert traveller's thirst, and who take by storm the garden of God to pluck the red rose of martyrdom.

mystical.

incalculable

In what was to become the kingdom of Castile the first settlers had been mere borderers, where the lord had a castle to hold and little beside, and his vassals had entered the land and remained possessing little but arms and flocks; one consequence of this was to make impossible anything like northern feudalism. The leader and the fighting men, in the castle—those who ate his bread—with their independence, and the dependence of all on those who grew the bread, expressed in *fueros*, lived all under such conditions of mutual respect as enhanced the Spanish characteristic of exalted individualism. Such types as the Cid are the outcome, or that Count Sancho

*Los que  
comeis  
mi pan...*

So records  
Ibn-Haiyan

Garcia who, notwithstanding he wore Moorish dress and sat among cushions on the floor giving audience, yet one November reached Cordova with his army, and set another Caliph over the Moors, and nine years later concluded a treaty which recognized as his vassals the frontier Saracens.<sup>9</sup>

Conditions in Leon were different, where the Duero constituted a secure frontier, without bridges and without fords, where the southern slope of the mountains had long been held, and behind it lay the Asturias, a home for generations. The old antithesis of lord and serf was broken up, levelled down, to a simpler state of prince and vassal; the counts were the king's representative to judge, or, in Astorga, the bishop, or, in cases which involved women, the queen. At Leon the king sat to do justice with his court of bishops and magnates. When he gave villages as a donation, to see or monastery or noble, the inhabitants were safeguarded by regulations which were readjusted from time to time. Nor was the labourer transferred with the

land, except perhaps a Moorish slave. Around the king lived, with bishops, abbots, and clerics, a personnel Arabized and of small estate, which constituted his superior attendants and a client body of Mussulman type, recruited perhaps from courtly Mozarabes and graced by Moslem guests and refugees. Not till the middle of the tenth century is the Gothic nobility found here, the Counts Palatine, and it is this private household of the king's, persisting more or less unchronicled, that lasted, as already said, into the middle of the fifteenth century.

Here also, therefore, the drift was toward a practical democratic spirit. The Mozarabic refugees who felt themselves not Gothic but Roman—heirs and members of that Rum which sheltered also the abbots of the Tur Abdin—who were prized and powerful in bishops' palaces and civil administration throughout the tenth century, were aware all the time of the common menace pressing up from the south, the common distress of their own fellows left behind them. Meanwhile the labourer

As said  
the Prior  
of Rabban  
Hormuzd

*Yace aquí  
Juan  
Labrador*

drove his plough through the warm soil, the shepherd led his brown flock through the brown stubble; they thought of little but the year's round, and owed little but to the king.

Not without importance, in this respect, is a recurrent phrase in the inscriptions that record the foundation of these Mozarabic churches now to be considered:

Non jussu imperiali vel oppressione vulgi  
sed abbatis Adefonsi et fratrum instantे  
vigilantia. . . .

*Que nunca  
sirvió a  
señor*

The phrase is a convention, and like all conventions significant. In a field thus prepared, thus sheltered, flowered Mozarabic art.



Elsewhere, in Galicia or Aragon, civil wars and Moslem forays trampled down whatever sprang up; in the monasteries and at the court the arts could flourish in security: the builder's, the jeweller's, and that of the limner and the scribe.



(V, p. 187)

*Photo. Gómez-Moreno*

S. María de Lebeña, Looking Eastward



(V. p. 189)

*Photo. Gómez-Moreno*

Light and Shadow at Lebeña

The haughty individualism of militant Castilians, the Frankish feudalism of Pyrenean Navarrese, were to check and alter this fair development. True, Arabic and Mozarabic elements could modify what was to follow more than foreign scholars have recognized, the Mudéjar style growing directly out of the foregoing, but it is a sad pity that the twelfth century moved so fast. Had only a little more time been allowed, so that after the first flowering the seed might have time to set, then Mozarabic art would have persisted, and grown into a thing the like of which has never been. As events went, it came to nothing, like the ruined Renaissance that three hundred years later in Provence and in the Sicily of Frederic II came again to naught. This Mozarabic art, hardly to be perceived now more than a flush upon cloud, than a memory of might-have-been, survives in a few forgotten churches, a handful of scattered manuscripts, fragments of priceless silk and intricate ivory-carving, some empty chalices and broken caskets of jewelled workmanship.

*Et erit flos  
decidens*

The churches are to be sought, for the most part, in the region I have called the Campos de los Godos.



**S. Miguel  
de Escalada**

Fig. 30

That the more important Visigothic churches may have been basilican has been said earlier, and the first Mozarabic churches that we can identify show modifications of the basilican form. S. Miguel de Escalada has an eastern transept, three parallel horseshoe apses sunk in the mass of the east wall and a south porch. The horseshoe arch is everywhere, in elevation, on plan, in windows. The stone of dedication<sup>1</sup> tells the following story:

This place, of old dedicated in honor of the archangel Michael and built with a little building, after falling to pieces lay long in ruins till Abbot Alfonso, coming with his companions from Cordova his own land, built up the ruined house in the time of the powerful and serene prince Alfonso. The number of monks increasing, this fair temple was

built afresh with admirable work, enlarged in every part from its foundations. The work was finished in twelve months, not by imperial imposition or oppression of the folk, but by the insistent vigilance of Abbot Alfonso and the brethren, when Garcia already held the sceptre of the realm with the queen Mumadona, in 913, and consecrated by Bishop Genadius on November 13.

Complete  
rebuilding

It was what we call a big job, to have the church roofed and ready for consecration by winter, but if the monks were many and themselves worked and paid good wages, it is not incredible, especially as some earlier capitals for the nave lay at hand. The materials of the beginning are coarse, gathered on the spot, and among them some Roman bricks, but in time a fine freestone was fetched much like that used at S. Adrian de Boñar, and there carved with an inscription of 920. The porch was added about 940. The three deep apses are covered with a fluted domical vaulting; the transept before them does not project on plan, and is divided by wide

Curved  
surfaces  
appear

Escalada  
Plate  
XXVIII

arches, in the line of the nave arcade, that descend on pilasters eastward, and westward on a cruciform pier that carries a column engaged at the west. This, like the nave and porch, was built for timber roofing: the nave, with its timbers held by paired rafters over a high clerestory, is a fine piece of carpentry still. The iconostasis, of three arches on wall pilasters and graceful columns, rises no higher than a rood-screen, west of the transept. The capitals here, and under the arch of the main apse, with a few in the eastern bays, are novel, inventive, rapidly ripening in skill, starting from a developed Asturian type, but often treating the Visigothic tendril as a pattern theme in itself, something like fountain jets or a line drawing of a palmette. Another Asturian trait is that where a column stands against a jamb, the capital passes into the fabric of the wall itself. The clerestory windows are filled with pierced marble slabs, whether original I do not know. Just above the eastern arches of the aisles, against the east wall of the nave, and around the springing of the

Capitals  
Plate  
XXVII

vault in the main apse, runs a beautiful stringcourse, carved with grape and leaf. The ancient parapets are in part preserved, and it must perhaps be insisted that they were made for this church that now stands, as dimensions and composition prove. They look, my notebook says, like a sheet of filet lace. Some slabs consist of rectangular compartments, interlaced at the corners, containing birds or palmette and other leaf motives, this part being bordered by a tall plant where paired leaves, sagging, alternate with birds pecking, or where roundels in a scroll hold leaf and bird alternately. Portions of another part were used to fill the tympanum of a sacristy door, eastward of the portico, and here first appears a plait of two doubled strands that turn on themselves, rather like the ornament on the Bewcastle and the Ruthwell Cross, making something very like the knot you find at Sangüesa and Leyre in the twelfth century and at Constantinople, in the portico of the Kahrie Djami, in the fourteenth. Selections from all these motives appear on the parapet from Boñar,

Parapets  
Plate  
XXIX

Escalada identical in workmanship. No two of the slabs are alike in pattern, but the technique is identical throughout, conceived with sharp edges and deep grooves, and a great pleasure in tracing successive lines parallel or nearly so. The drill is not abused: the sagging leaves mentioned above should be considered with the Seville capitals and Asturian rafter patterns that use concentric semicircles. Cattaneo<sup>2</sup> has no parallels that will bear comparison: the ninth-century door-jambs of S. Ambrogio are more puerile, and the ruined well-head from Venice is the nearest, in technique and design. The reader may have remarked before now that Cattaneo's dates for north-eastern Italy should be brought down a century or more to match the remains in northwestern Spain, so that VIII c. when Italian is equivalent to IX c. or even X c. Spanish, without degeneration; since for those abortions which the Carolingian age brought forth in Italy before it died, in Spain is substituted a continuous tradition under conditions increasingly favourable, until in the full Mozarabic expansion,

and  
Caro-  
lingian

ivories, miniatures and goldsmith's work attest the vitality and power that in the eleventh century were to be smothered.

stone-work

The main door of S. Miguel, in the south wall, has been rebuilt, as a stone says, in 1059. In the west wall of the portico, the ajimez window, as in the later Asturian churches, wants the jamb-shafts—indeed here the monks used as few columns as possible—but is framed above in a neat label or *alfiz* of rectangular section and along the face of the entire portico runs such another *alfiz*, moulded, that followed the curve of the arches below, and had once a horizontal upper line. The arches come down broad upon a stepped and moulded abacus, and as the window-head was one slab, so here what would be in French Gothic the *tas-de-charge* is shaped from a single block, pointed on the upper surface to receive the first arch-stones east and west respectively. The capital is of a special sort, peculiar to this region and epoch but general here; the earliest instances are those from Sahagun, now preserved in Leon Museum.

Plate  
XXVII

**Sahagun** The history of Sahagun<sup>3</sup> is somehow involved with that of S. Miguel, by an inexplicable coincidence in names and dates. Alfonso III bought some ruins there in 905 for another Abbot Alfonso and his monks from Cordova, and there they built the greatest abbey in Spain; to the Congregation of Cluny another Alfonso gave it, and the monks tried to enforce French feudal rights and the land abhorred them, so that today there is little at Sahagun but red dust and desolation. In S. Lorenzo, however, two capitals from the abbey make a holy water stoup, and of those in Leon one clearly shows the derivation from a Greek Corinthian style like the piece at Merida, and others mark the successive stages of development, till one reveals the source of the characteristic cloister-capitals at Moissac, how those, too, are derived from the Mozarabic, by way of Mudéjar workmen. The finest of all the series may be seen at S. Cebrian de Mazote, where corresponding capitals on the two sides of the nave are paired though not identical, and, as Sr. Gómez-Moreno

**Plate VI**

**Capitals**  
there and  
at Leon  
Museum  
x c.

**Moissac**  
xii c.  
and xiii c.

**Mazote** x c.



(V. p. 103)

The Church of Olerdula

*Photo. Mas*



(V. p. 193)

*Photo. Mas*

S. Julian de Buada, Eastern End

seems also to feel, they bear an amazing likeness to those at the hexastyle temple of Shehba which was built, in the middle of the third century, by the emperor Philip the Arab.<sup>4</sup>

Here at Escalada, in the portico, capitals of two sorts are to be distinguished. Sr. Gómez-Moreno remarks that these perhaps proceed from a single Byzantine atelier that supplied such pieces, between 920 and 940, to Leonese building, *e. g.*, Mazote, Hornija, Bamba, Sahagun, Peñalba and perhaps Eslonza. I am not so sure: partly because I am not satisfied about the Proconesus marble-industry in general, and partly because the two sorts in the portico at Escalada both show a strong likeness to the parapet slabs in technique. A double twist goes around the necking, and the abacus is adjusted to the deep base of the horseshoe arch by a lovely contour composed of three fillets, beaded regularly, and two hollows.

The other element which is most characteristic of all these Mozarabic churches appears already in two successive stages

Shehba  
iii c.  
Plate  
XXXI

Atelier  
in the  
Procone-  
sus?

Escalada  
Plate XIIIEaves-  
bracket

of development here, viz., the carved brackets that support the eaves. Against the main apse these are simply fluted, starting with a wide roll at the outer edge and diminishing, in varying sizes, on an arc, to the wall; but those at the aisle-ends are already carved on either face with characteristic motives of star and daisy and helix and the four-leaf made by intersecting circular arcs. This bracket invention began, as I believe, somewhere in Asia but it was, like the horseshoe arch, to take strong hold of the Spanish imagination and never again be quite disused; the famous carved timbers in Saragossa and Salmantine building are an adaptation again to wood-technique of what may have originally begun in timber structure. The stone forms of the church eaves here were exactly copied for the beams of the nave rafters. These stone brackets are the forerunners in Spain of the corbel-table that Romanesque was to take direct from sixth-century Syria. It is the presence of them, as well as capitals already mentioned, among the fragments of S. Roman de Hornija, that

prove a Mozarabic rebuilding of the burial-place of King Chidaswinth.

Nor should go unnoticed the felicity of the saw-tooth ornament, below the brackets and the eaves, in brick: the same which Galla Placidia used in Ravenna, but with less success there because with less relief. The great excellence of S. Miguel, however, is one rarer and more profound, the beauty in space-composition of the interior—airy and graceful, to tease us out of thought.

Plate LI



While Escalada, with Sahagun, lies south-east of Leon at no insuperable distance, the correlate of S. Miguel is found in the Campos de los Godos, in S. Cebrian de Mazote.<sup>5</sup> Its history goes back as far as an Abbot Martin, dwelling there in 916. Indeed the dedication to S. Cyprian allies it with the East and with Cordova. The church has been revaulted and in places rebuilt, or rather taken down, but its insignificance that saved it from Almanzor saved it also from Herrera. Of the three

S. Cebrian  
de Mazote

Plate XXX

Mazote parallel apses the central one seems like a presbytery, with a huge relieving arch embedded in its eastern wall; the arms of the eastern transept are curved, backed by a square mass of wall like a Syrian apse; and five bays of nave end in a slightly raised choir where once was something else: the question is, what? Sr. Gómez-  
Moreno feels that he has found the vestiges of a western apse, like that of Pefialba, which Sres. Agapito y Revilla and Lampérez cannot identify. He would also postulate a corresponding apse eastward, they, leaving the east end square, suppose that narthex and western porch were rebuilt into the west choir. Given the barrel-vaults and semi-domes of the transept to take a strong downward thrust, it seems likely that the central bay of the crossing bore either a cloistered vault or a dome. Columns, of marble or granite, are plenty here: in the angles of the side apses and at their jambs and those of the transept-chapels, against the four cruciform piers about the crossing except on the nave side, where was the iconostasis usual

Cf. also  
Camarzana

Fig. 29

Plates  
XXIX,  
XXXIII

in the Mozarabic rite that has disappeared, against the responds in the western wall, and, with capitals, serving for holy water stoups. There is still a south door.

The barrel-vault still survives in one arm of the crossing and the north apsidal chapel beyond it is ingeniously adjusted to the rest. The intercommunication of the three eastern members is probably inherent in the plan, but round arches about the sanctuary replace the original horseshoe form that once persisted throughout. The capitals have been discussed already. The general effect is rectangular without and will always so have been.



Santiago de Peñalba,<sup>6</sup> in the Vierzo, possesses two authentic apses both in place, but this church is, regarded from the exterior, strongly cruciform, with low eastern members stretching wide under their grey slates and a square tower rising abrupt and huge, higher than the line of the nave roof, beyond which the foot of the cross is a

Iconstasis  
once  
Plate  
XXXIV

Plate  
XXXII

Santiago de  
Peñalba

Peñalba trifle higher than the head. Both apses are imbedded in solid square-faced wall, but only the eastern is horseshoe-arched, the other on plan a stilted round arch. The two arms of the cross are sacristies, barrel-vaulted like the nave and opening only by doors within which you must go up a few steps. They have buttresses, so has the nave just east of the western apse and opposite the crossing arch, as Tioda would have placed them. You come into the church by a shapeless porch-chamber in the south flank, which shelters the doorway proper, two horseshoe arches on columns under a beautiful *alfiz* that crosses the wall, comes down to abacus level, and turns up around the arches in a free curve, not concentric. Within, the *alfiz* is wanting, and instead a mighty horseshoe arch, springing above the tops of the opening, rears itself against the wall, and in the jambs of it are hinge-sockets, above and below.

Fig. 31  
Plate  
XXXVI

The lantern opens to nave and apse by horseshoe arches on marble shafts, but the vault of it is carried on four plain high round arches that intersect against a corbel

in the angle. Above their juncture lies one of the flutings of the melon-shaped vault, by an ingenious arrangement that practically inverts the mechanics of a Persian dome on squinch-arches. The lantern is fluted in eight compartments, as are both the apses, which however stretch a single span across their opening. Fluted domes were known to Hellenistic builders as early as the third century, for Diocletian set one over a chamber in his baths at Rome; they are found in Syrian baths of the fourth and the fifth; while Justinian's builders at SS. Sergius and Bacchus tried one sort, and the Arab workmen of Ukhaidir were aiming awkwardly to copy the effect for angle niches as late perhaps as the ninth. I rather think the happy solution of the angle problem here belongs to this architect. The lantern-dome was a hardy experiment, but it is abutted securely and scientifically by three barrel-vaults and a semi-dome.

The window of the western apse is square-headed, with a delicate stone leaf-pattern, inside the angles, forming a tracery that is less like Gothic cusping than like

Mechanics  
of the  
vaulting

iii c.

iv c.  
and v c.

vi c.

ix c.

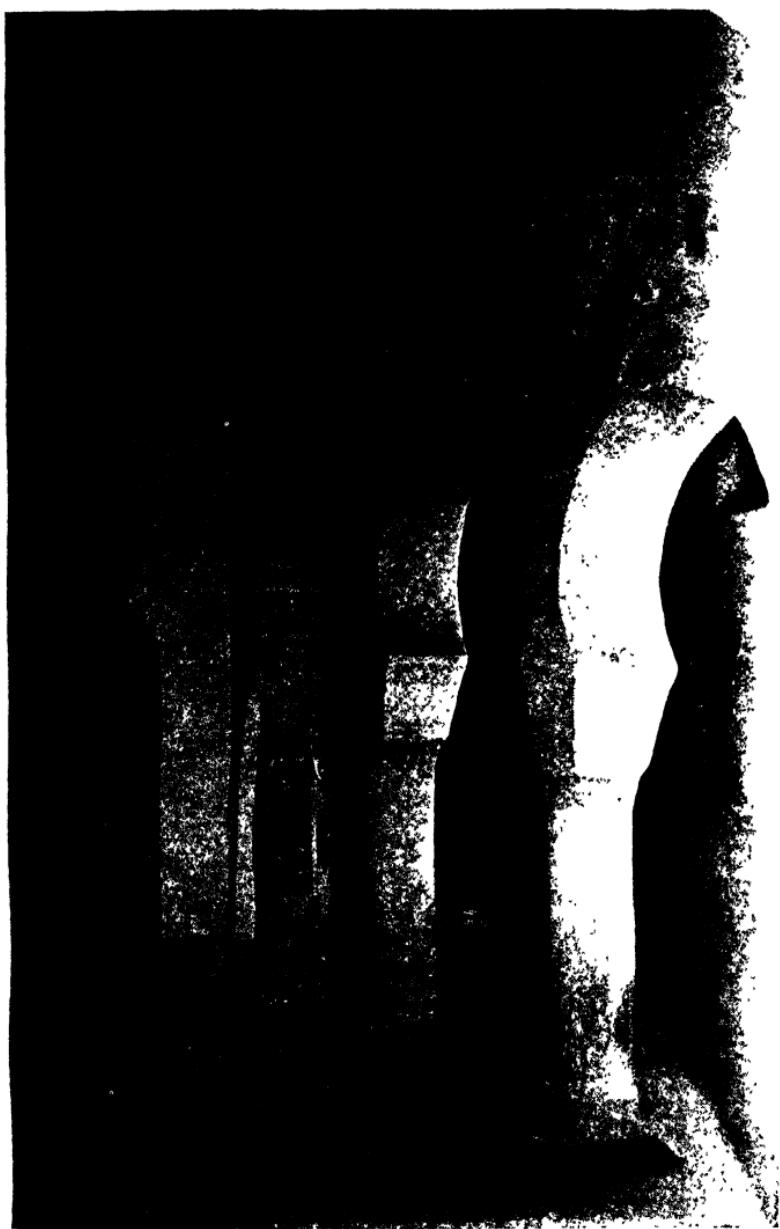
x c.

Peñalba  
Pierced  
window-  
patterns

the pierced plaster of mosque-windows at Cairo and Constantinople, though actually the leaf-patterns are near to those of Escalada, but bettered, as are indeed the stone eaves-brackets. The capitals are of like design, but thicker, richer forms; the beautiful stepped block above is identical.

Cf. *Way of  
S. James,*  
III, 354,  
plate

This is the history: S. Genadius, who consecrated Escalada, and in 895 had rebuilt in the Vierzo S. Pedro de Montes, which was later so rebuilt again that no trace of him remains but a stone, built also another coenobium, in a more distant folding of the blue thick-wooded heights, with their warm pink marbles and their clear brown brooks. There, under a white cliff that may be seen for forty miles, he set a house for monks, dedicating it to S. Andrew, and another farther off, and an oratory to S. Thomas in a deep valley that they called the Caves of Silence, and in between the two a hermitage, Santiago. In 919 the dowry was dated: land around about, prayer-books, chalices, crosses, crowns and lamps of metal, all were provided; and having retired from the see



(V. p. 196)

*Photo. E. H. Lowber*

S. Millan de Suso, Looking East



(V. p. 195)

*Photo. E. H. Lowther*

S. Millan de Suso, Capitals

of Astorga he lived there the coenobitical life, meeting with his fellows on certain days for prayer in common, while disciples occupied the pastoral chair. He died probably in 936, and was buried in the little church of Santiago; not that of his building a quarter of a century before, but a richer and more splendid edifice that Bishop Fortis, and Bishop Solomon after him, had ordained and supervised in the midst of other cares. Fortis began it, at the Caves of Silence, for the good of his soul and love of his Master, but Solomon on accession found necessary to change the site to one more commodious and built upon the earlier foundation of S. James; and his documents show plainly that he feels himself to have done it all. The conditions of episcopal state at Astorga, the number of persons about the palace, lay and clerical, whose names have an Arab ring, explains the choice of an architect. It was finished, then, about 937: there is no way to guess why after the death of the Master the formal consecration was deferred to 1105. The stone came out of the mountain that

S. Genadius.  
Masterof Fortis  
and  
Solomon

Plate XI

Peñalba  
Plate  
XXXVII

Plate VII

S. Tomas  
de las  
Ollas

rises over it, excepting the capitals which, the parish priest will say if you ask him, were fetched from over-sea. In the western apse the builder and the Master lie inurned: the old cruciform shape has reasserted itself for a sepulchral chapel but has not affected the interior; the quiet compass of the spacious central portion, the dim shadows beyond, where only a blue flame winks or a row of yellow candles flicker, is fitted for recollection: it breathes a *sursum corda*. But outside, the little church looks only about half the size that it is, as is most apt for a mountain-chapel, with tower to be a landmark at the turning of the pass and low roofs spreading downward, over the carved brackets, like brown brooding wings.



In the Potter's Suburb of Ponferrada, at the entrance to the Vierzo, the church of S. Thomas<sup>7</sup> incorporates, as sanctuary, a curious edifice, oblong and domed, arcaded round upon horseshoe arches, and opening

by a horseshoe arch into a rectangular nave. This, though Romanesque, probably replaces something earlier of the same sort, and a western horseshoe in the wall suggests there was originally a third chamber, for the orientation, as the chambers lie, is exact, and the height, before the nave was lowered, was once even. No capitals are here. Granite jambs and pilasters on unmoulded imposts receive the doorway and the arcading inside and a plain moulded stringcourse runs at the springing of the dome, though the groins are brought down below it to the crest of every arch. The piers stand on a plinth, and the face of each arch is in one plane, so that the plan of the chapel below is polygonal, and oval at the stringcourse; eleven groins divide it into as many flat triangles.

The slate masonry of this apse is square without and piled up well above the haunch of the dome, thus repeating in the tenth century experiments not so long since abandoned in the provinces east of Mesopotamia. S. Thomas of the Pots is an experiment that would hardly have been

Elliptical  
sanctuary

Fig. 32

Plate  
XXXV

tried after Peñalba was finished; if it was planned to enshrine a sarcophagus after the antique manner, no shred of memory or tradition is left.



S. Miguel  
de Celanova

At about this time, in Galicia, at Celanova,<sup>8</sup> S. Rosendo built a chapel very like that of Peñalba though wanting the western apse, and dedicated it to the guardian and conductor of souls, the warrior S. Michael.

S. Rosendo

Rudesind was the eldest son of a lord of the land, akin to the kings; when his father died in 937 he divided the goods with his four brethren, including the property of his mother though she was yet alive. His brother Froila gave wherewith to found a monastery of the Saviour, to be called *Cella nova*. In 934 and 945, Rudesind and his mother Ildaura, whose relation recalls that of Augustine and Monica, dowered richly the new foundation—Ildaura's is a great name, needful to transcribe here. He was certainly a monk, and held a bishop's title in Dumio, and later in Mon-

Cf. p. 123

doñedo, without pastoral sway; he is ranked also in the succession at Compostella. At one time he was a kind of viceroy in Galicia; he is said to have conquered Normans and Moors, and to have been abbot in Celanova. There he died, still an amazing figure, in 977, bequeathing to the abbey some families of Moorish blood, to do the monks' work for them, after a custom which never obtained within Leon. An Arab-named woman, Muzalba, who got back her Roman citizenship by a deed he drew up in 943, with property free of taxation, may probably have been his *aya*, his nurse and governess. In any case, he had plenty of Arab contacts under his hand, and as founder he had established a mass at Michaelmas "for the soul of my dear brother Froilan," and his mother loved S. Michael, for she had already built him a chapel on her own land. There seems, therefore, abundant reason for accepting the long-established tradition which assigns to his day the chapel of S. Michael which yet stands in the convent cabbage patch at Celanova.

A custom  
known in  
England  
also

Plate  
XXXVIII

Celanova

The stone set in above the square-headed south door of the nave, supplies unluckily more piety than fact, being indeed intended devotionally in a convent where the facts were known, and the tradition was unbroken and pious:

Author of this work Thou art, God,  
believed to be.

Take away sins from those, Christ, who  
pray here to Thee.

The present memorial commends an unworthy servant, Froila, who hopes and conjures thee in the Lord, O good and well-beloved who shalt read, to have a memory of me, a sinner, in holy prayer.

Fig. 35

A charming porch roof on a granite pillar screens this door. The building without is what Morales was wont to call very fair and proportionate, lifting a square central mass, wide-eaved on stone brackets, from which apse and nave reach out in corresponding wings, at the same level. The north and south faces of the crossing and of the nave carry buttresses, indeed these Asturian buttresses were appreciated and

re-employed regularly in the Mozarabic building, only Escalada and Mazote wanting them. The domed apse has no need of buttresses, but a charming saw-tooth border runs under its eaves. The building is granite, of sound and beautiful ashlar, that loads heavily the mass of lantern and dome.

Within, the nave proves to be a true ante-chapel, with a small west window and an eastern door. The chapel proper rears over the entrance a second, higher horse-shoe arch, not concentric, just as at Peñalba, and opens to the apse another arch, more delicately fashioned, with wide *alfiz* encompassing it. The lantern, with a window in every face, carries a groined vault on very stilted arches that descend at the angles upon heavy fluted brackets, where Peñalba had no more than a moulded corbel-base. There are no capitals in the granite building. The tiny circular sanctuary is imbedded in its square masonry, with niches reserved north and south for credence and piscina and an eastern window shaped like the ace of spades, being a

Buttress,  
dome, and  
ashlar work

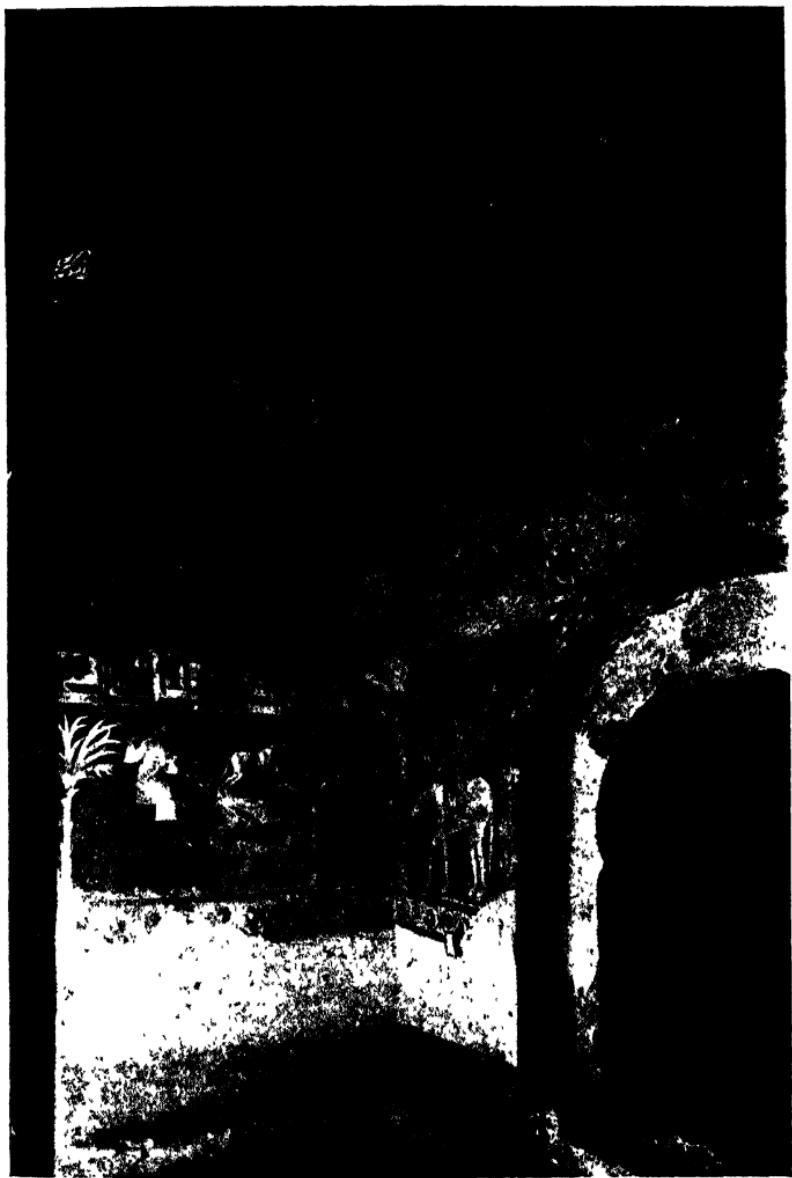
Plate  
XXXIX

Celanova

pointed horseshoe arch on top of a thin loophole. The octagonal dome bulges in triangular groined sections, in an adaptation of the melon-fluting at Escalada and Peñalba. The tiny memorial is like a casket of onyx and jeweller's work, so exquisite in its adaptation and fineness of simplicity.

Villanueva  
de las  
Infantas

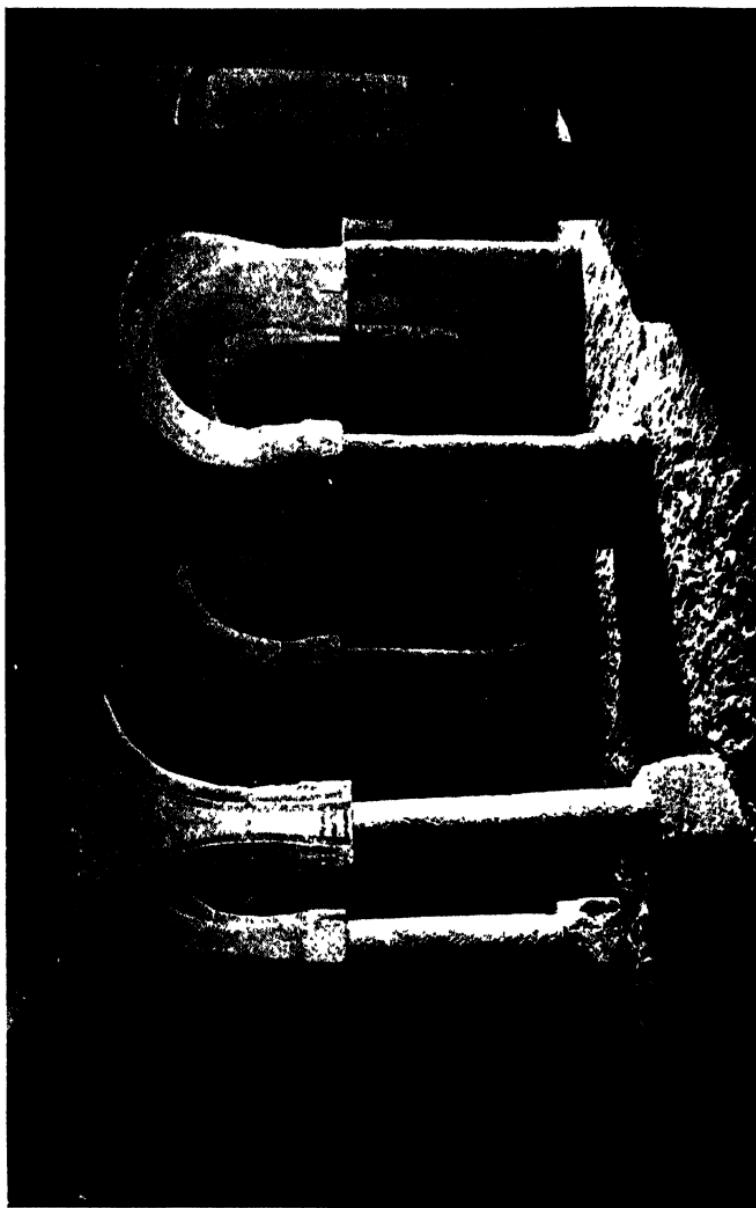
The beautiful patterns of the eaves brackets were repeated at Villanueva de las Infantas,<sup>9</sup> where Ildaura built a nunnery, but the capitals from there, preserved at Orense Museum, look crude through all their weathering. We can only know that this foundation for kings' daughters, where Ildaura lived till her death in 958, was of Mozarabic building. The chapel stood safe and complete till about 1880, then began to decay, and in 1894 was pulled to bits. Sr. López Ferreiro remembered it as unvaulted, single-aisled, with a sanctuary, like S. Miguel, circular within a square mass of stone, all of good ashlar, without



(V p. 200)

*Photo. Gómez-Moreno*

Berlanga, Vaulting-Ribs and Wall-Paintings



(V. p. 201)

S. Baudel, the Rows of Columns

*Photo. Gómez-Moreno*

buttresses but arcaded within along the walls in four horseshoe arches: a plan which S. Tomás de las Ollas can confirm as in practice at the epoch. A fluted bracket like those of Celanova, but longer, is preserved near the site, and probably sustained an angle of the roof. At the west were two niches, flanking the door within, about where Anatolian chapels added them.

Anatolian  
reminis-  
cence



This Mozarabic style, then, is clearly distinguishable from any that went before or after it by the following five traits: the use of curved apses, of groined vaults, of dome, semi-dome and cloistered vault, and the melon fluting in all three, of carved stone brackets of a special form; and, more important than all, by the form given to the horseshoe arch, which overpasses the line of the diameter by about one-third the radius. This canon of the arch was perceived and formulated by Sr. Gómez-Moreno<sup>10</sup> and it supplies an admirable test: the Visigothic arch tends toward the true

Summing  
up

Canon of the arch

*fer-à-cheval*, that changes the curve in the lower part of the arc, and even when struck from a single centre is indifferent to the proportion; while the Mozarabic arch, though in outlying parts of the land, under ill-trained workmen, it may vary so far as to stop at one-fifth and even turn around to one-half the radius, still manifests a decent recognition of a canon. Taking this arch-form with one or another of the other signs named above, we attain a firm certainty, morphological and historical, from the group of churches so far considered, that range in date from Sahagun 905 to Celanova *c.* 940. Within, they tend toward a basilican interior, and how the Asturian-Visigothic tradition begins to reimpose itself is already apparent in the skillful use of buttresses, and will show more forcibly in those which remain for consideration.

S. Maria de Bamba

On the form of the horseshoe arch rests the whole question of the church of Bamba, situate in the Campos de los Godos, close to S. Cebrian. This is probably the place, then called Gerticos, which was the prop-

erty of King Receswinth, where he was buried in 672, where Wamba was proclaimed king and bequeathed his name in popular memory. A monastery which flourished there in 928 served as seat for a bishop in retirement, and is mentioned in documents of Sahagun. Morales<sup>11</sup> took the church for Visigothic, and indeed so should I take it, as far as the plan goes. The nave and west end were rebuilt after it fell into the hands of the Hospitallers, about the middle of the twelfth century, and rebuilt more than once, for parts are Romanesque, and other parts Isabellan, and the date of 1567 occurs, and noble capitals on sunken columns have fallen to serve for holy-water stoups. The three apses with the transept have survived from Bishop Frunimio's time, and the north wall of the nave, with buttresses corresponding to the arcades within. The apses, square-ended, barrel-vaulted, with the central one projecting a trifle and its walls terminating in the three responds that give the germ of a cruciform pier, correspond exactly to Asturian of the ninth century; but the horseshoe arch be-

Plate  
XXXIIAnother  
Bishop  
without  
a See

Fig. 33

Bamba  
Plate XLI

tween the central and side bays of the transept is no higher than the sanctuary arch. The transept is lifted far above the apses and barrel-vaulted on the same axis, while the transept arms carry their barrel-vault (still on the same axis) at an intermediate level, allowing thus three eastern windows above the three apse-roofs. The result was a fine test how three parallel barrel-vaults can buttress each other on an arch with a void below instead of solid walls, in the manner that Anatolia<sup>12</sup> had already, perhaps, by this time approved, and that certain regions of France were to try, and certain Spanish builders, as in S. Martin of Segovia. At least two more bays existed westward, but thereafter the original north wall stops, though the present church goes on: either the western end, like the Asturian, was a narthex with lateral chambers, which is most logical, or the intention was to make such a version of the cross-inscribed as you find in Greek churches and in S. Pedro de la Nave. The remains do not seem to indicate the oriental plan of nine bays, up-

Anatolia

France

Castile

lifted at the centre, such as Montelios and the Christ of the Light, or the little wayside sanctuary Sarre<sup>13</sup> published with all its Spanish suggestions.

In Mesopotamia

The degree to which S. Cebrian, in the same region, ranges itself with Escalada, dated 913, and keeps primitive southern traits unmodified, confirming Abbot Martin of Cordova's occupancy in 916, complicates the solution. I am forced to suppose that the Bishop of Leon was conservatively-minded, and brought with him a fixed admiration for the ancestral sanctuaries of Asturias, where, after all, Val de Dios had been consecrated only thirty-five years earlier. These he copied, then, as best might be, but the workmen within reach being Mozarabes, the horseshoe arch prevailed.

Plate XL



S. Maria de Lebeña<sup>14</sup> lies in the Picos de Europa, and was founded and endowed by a Count of Lebeña, Alfonso, with his wife Justa, at some date not long after 924.

Lebeña

Lebeña They were dead by 966. The lady's name has Sevillian associations; her husband uses no patronymic; their wealth came from royal gifts, the contribution of friends, and purchases: these facts combine to suggest that the noble pair were themselves Mozarabes, or their parents were, who might have been wrecked in the great ruin of the Renegades half a century before, or when Ibn Hafsun died, 917, or might have withdrawn discreetly before the brilliant expansion of Islam under Abd-er-Rahman, or have left Cordova in the great famine of 915. The list of their donations would set up a museum; yet more quickening for the imagination is the passage in which they bequeath, "to this church that we built, all that we have in this town, this palace with its ways out and ways in, and lands and vineyards and apple and olive orchards and fig and fruit-tree groves, and mills," with "houses and granaries and mills and maid-servants and orchards" elsewhere. They were rich and they had admirable taste. It was given to them, employing the horseshoe arch that was formed at Cordova

Conjectural  
and  
actual  
circum-  
stances

and Seville, and strong and lofty barrel-vaults of a very light stone, to bring to fruition in the early tenth century what a Syrian builder prepared for in the sixth at It-Tuba, and was not to see fulfilled.

The plan is Asturian: three square apses, the central jutting a little, at the east; narthex and flanking chambers that open eastward, at the west; between these, two lofty bays of nave which over the aisles are intermediate in height, resting on true cruciform piers with four columns attached. All the principal arches descend on such columns: at apse entrances, in the centre of the side walls, on the east and nave face of the narthex angles. The capitals are Mozarabic, some almost as archaic as some at Escalada; the beautiful impost block above is richly moulded, without the fillet and bead of the marble blocks farther south. The bases, richly moulded, stand on plinths. Whether there was a western door remains uncertain; one on the south opens into a south porch. Stone brackets remain under the eaves, with a heavy fluted angle-corner, as at Escalada, and Villanueva.

Plate XLII

Fig. 34

Cruciform  
piers  
engaged  
columns

Fig. 38

Lebeña  
The architect's intention

The vaulting system is perfect. At apse and narthex the three barrel-vaults on parallel axes sustain each other, and the two great bays of nave, divided by a transverse wall above the central arch, lead up the eye into high places full of dim light; the aisle vaults, on an axis north-and-south, buttress these perfectly, and are buttressed themselves by apse and narthex vault. This is what the architect of S. Pedro de la Nave was seeking, and doubtless other tentatives and experiments that failed or that Almanzor wrecked lie in between the two. Where so little pre-Romanesque is left, as in Spain, between the Moors and the monks and the Conquistadores, each deadlier than the foregoing, it is rare good fortune to find still in existence three churches like that of Nave and that of Linio and this of Lebeña.

mystical

The Spanish temper, like the Byzantine, craved the mystery of enclosed spaces, where light falls stillly, as through deep waters, and great curved surfaces bound the vision and brood. This need is something purely Asiatic, first expressed, perhaps, in

the palace halls of great kings, Firuzabad, Ctesiphon, Tag-é-Ivan, Mshatta, Samarra, Ukhaidir. This, be it said in passing, is not Syrian nor Hellenistic in the least, for that art is founded in reason, and this in mystery, and herein S. Sophia is not quite to the purpose, for the glory of that is serene and sure like the City of God, a single pearl. But a palace like Kasr-ibn-Wardan, built most likely by the same architect, with its huge hall, wide opening, and dome poised far above, that led up logically to the domed church alongside in which aisles opened inward at the two repeated levels, above and below, and apse and narthex opened likewise, and from level to level the eye was drawn, the fancy was beguiled, and the mind was wrapped in dream and mystery—this is what the Iberian, under Visigothic and Reconquest and Mozarabic life equally, sought in his own way, with the means at his command. Here at Lebeña he has not the dome, he has no more than King Ramiro's master used nearly a century before, but he has a new arch, a new tradition, a new hardihood.

far-fetched  
AsianPlate  
XLIIISo says  
Butler

Central type

1. Concentric  
2. Centripetal

In Mesopotamia

In Syria

In Italy

In other words, among churches of the so-called central type three sorts must be distinguished, from the point of view of the person who frequents them. That person was important to early architects, who shared in those days his sensibility to space composition. These sorts might be called roughly the concentric, the centripetal, and the cellular. Concentric are S. Costanza and Charlemagne's church at Aachen. The centripetal may be composed of a single space, or more than one: of the former kind are the Ravenna baptistery, the church of the Archangels<sup>15</sup> at Fa'lul (A. D. 526), the so-called Tomb of Zobeydi, Bana<sup>16</sup> and some other Armenian churches, and the Turbehs attached to Stamboul mosques; of the latter, Mirayeh and Midjleyya, and the colonnaded sanctuaries dedicated to S. Gregory in Armenia, at Zwarthnotz and Ani. Probably the baptistery at Evora was built in this intention. It culminates in the central dome upon which open spaces at successive levels, as just now described, of which the most perfect instance is found at S. Vitale.

The third sort, called, perhaps not happily, the cellular, includes those types of the cross-inscribed where the corners are filled in at a lower level, like S. Satiro of Milan. The Spanish have a persistent taste for this: it recurs for instance at Tarrasa in the eighth century, at S. Clare of Palencia in the fourteenth, at S. Gaetano of Madrid in the seventeenth.<sup>17</sup> But the nine-bayed plan is the most purely oriental: after Montelios and the Christ of the Light we find it in *Las Tornerias*, in the Mosque at Ani, in Sarre's wayside shrine at Makam Ali. To follow it farther were to go too far afield.

3. Cellular

often  
9-bayed

In the same Cantabrian mountains near Lebeña yet stand the crumbling ruins of a monastery, S. Roman de Moroso,<sup>18</sup> to show how small a thing might serve humility and still be fair. A rectangular nave is barrel-vaulted, with a south door, and a rectangular apse equally barrel-vaulted, that keeps in the south wall a

S. Roman  
de Moroso

Moroso  
Built without centering

touching niche at hand to serve as credence-table for the priest who had no server; arches are horseshoe in shape, columns stood once within the door and the sanctuary arch. This arch was laid, a long way up, horizontally, then a few big stones were so ingeniously shaped and a thin keystone so well slipped in, that it is probable no centering was ever used in the building. The stone eaves-brackets that stretch dark against the sky for the roof has fallen, trailing plants and rooted shrubs, with a heavy creeper doing its deadliest beside a gash in the apse—all contribute to an old-fashioned picturesque that the ecclesiologist would forego even to exchange it for whitewash.



S. Juan de la Peña

Also in Crete

In Aragon meanwhile less building perhaps was done. S. Juan de la Peña,<sup>19</sup> in the lower church, has two parallel apses as though for a dedication to twin saints: two other early cases are known in Spain, at Udalla in Cantabria and at S. Zaornin

de Puebles,<sup>20</sup> together with a sixteenth-century church in the province of Zamora. Here under the rock was a shrine of SS. Julian and Basilisa, patrons likewise of the early Reconquest in Asturias. The primitive nave of this tiny sanctuary was divided by two horseshoe arches on a pillar, and the window by which the chapels communicated is a marked horseshoe, their entrance arches being less strong but still certainly horseshoe. The remainder of the crypt is later. In 1079 another church was consecrated over the crypt but still the arched doorway from the upper church into the cloister is a good horseshoe arch.

Twin saints



This same form is found in three little Catalan churches, Olerdula, S. Quirse de Pedret, and S. Maria de Marquet. In addition, S. Julian de Buada<sup>21</sup> is almost as shapeless and indeterminable as S. Julian at Samos in Galicia, ageless and timeless: all these I desire to leave apart, for I have not seen them and the conditions of the

Olerdula  
S. Julian  
de BuadaPlates  
XLIV  
and XLV

Catalan

Marca Hispanica were so unlike those elsewhere in Spain as to demand a fresh start. Suffice it now that the horseshoe arch is there, in Mozarabic form. Likewise I have passed by S. Pedro de las Puellas<sup>22</sup> of Barcelona, consecrated 945, which was primitive and cruciform, with shafts on each face of each angle; in 1909 it was burned during the rising and thereafter ravished by restorers, so that when in 1911 I came to look at it, the state was so sorry that I averted my eyes and went away. But two churches of great interest are left in the Duero basin, which is in the kingdom of Castile: S. Millan de la Cogolla and S. Baudel de Berlanga.

S. Millan  
de la  
Cogolla

S. Millan de Suso,<sup>23</sup> like S. Juan just considered, S. Pedro de Rocas in Galicia, and many other remote Spanish sanctuaries, took its origin from a cave. It has still, like the lower church of the Peña, an arcade down the middle of the nave, and a pair of chapels eastward thereof. These chapels

rise much higher than the nave. They are vaulted on eight broad flat ribs that cross at the centre, and the rectangle which the two constitute is adorned still, under the modern roof, with a series of bracket corbels derived from the Leonese sort. These, however, instead of curving beneath, carry out a square of stone, adorned with lines radiating like a fan: that is, on a thin rectangular corbel-table is copied the Leonese bracket, with further enrichments, the same treatment being found on the east face of the mosque of Cordova. At the south door of the nave a pair of columns supports the horseshoe arch, those of the opposite jamb having disappeared; they are carved with flat designs quite alien to the conventions of a capital: star, helix, and some of those derivatives of the palmiette which were noticed on the parapet at Escalada and the broken slab in Cattaneo. The arches of the nave and chapels have no capitals, but a huge smooth impost on which the horseshoe descends.

The arcade runs down the middle of the present nave for three bays, then an oblong

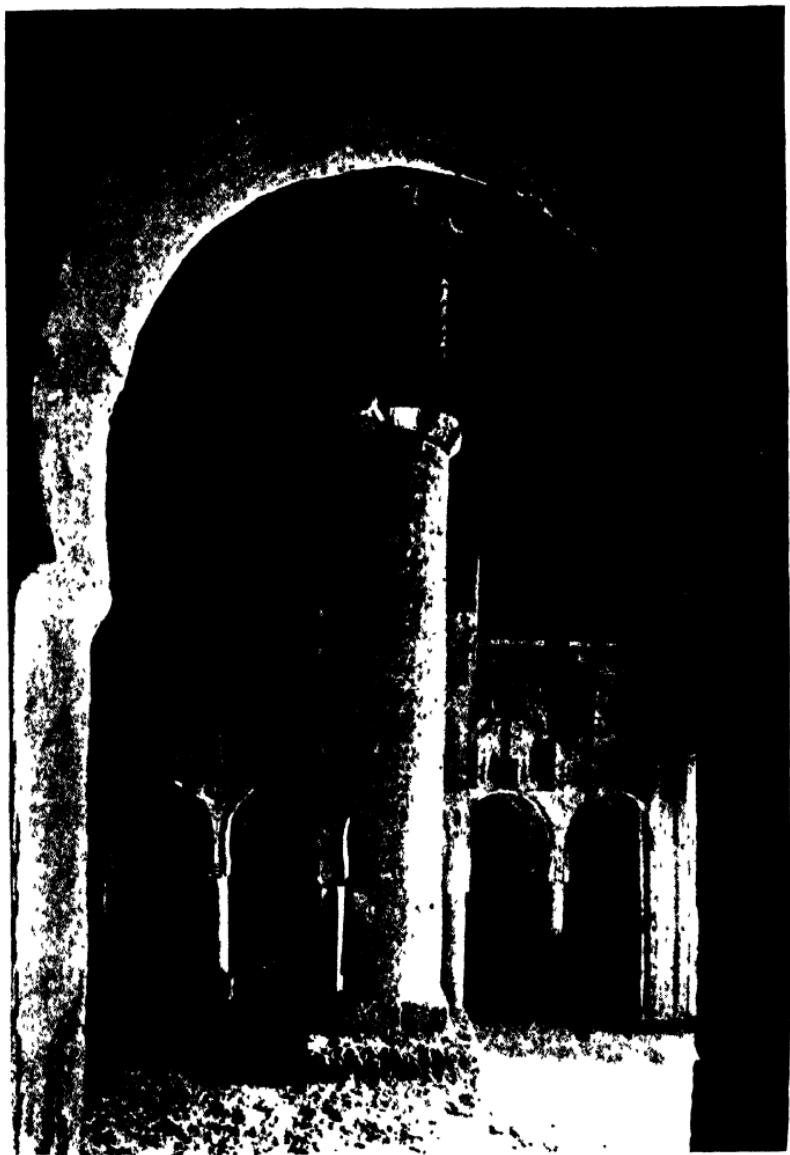
Fig. 37

Plate  
XLVII

S. Millan

Plate XLVI

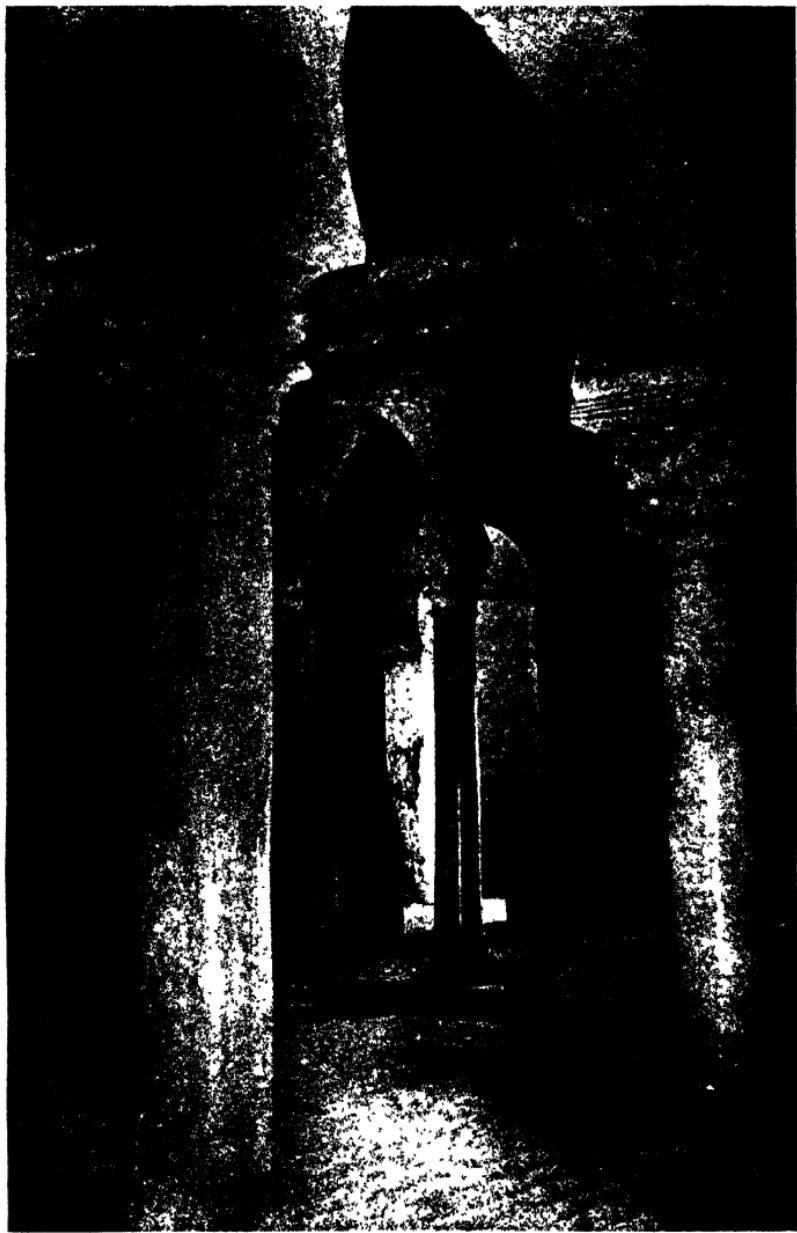
pier, with engaged shafts, marks a turn northward, and two more arches, much higher, go down to the west. Sandoval, when he remarked upon a row of arches above the westward arcade, made trouble for ecclesiologists, for though this exists in some little churches of Galicia, those buildings are all transitional between Romanesque and Gothic. Yet they may spring from the same want. The arches could not admit light, says the learned Benedictine; they were probably devised to lighten the mass of the wall. This bewildering little church was consecrated in 929: it would seem that the best we can make out is that in the Rioja the science of building was not so advanced as under the Leonese kings, and while the abbey was rich enough to secure carvers, just as later, perhaps about 1157, it erected a marvellous shrine with a recumbent image of the miracle-working saint, no one knew or cared much about the form of the church, provided it was splendid. The primitive caves along the north were taken as a sort of agglomerated aisle, the easternmost as an apse-chapel, a short



(V. p. 197)

*Photo. Gómez-Moreno*

S. Baudel, from the Sanctuary



(V. p. 167)

*Photo. G. G. K.*

S. Miguel de Escalada, from the South Aisle

nave and another aisle were big enough for comfort.



The last and the least of all these memorable churches is S. Baudelio de Berlanga, and perhaps the most memorable of them. It has happened throughout all of this enquiry that those churches which were outlying, in remote and lonely places, showed a purer type or a stranger character: S. Comba de Bande, S. Maria de Melque, and S. Baudel.<sup>29</sup>

S. Baudelio  
de Berlanga

Plate L

The original saint from whose appellation a hermit took his name, is said to be Poitevin, which in the circumstances helps no way. He must be recognized in the advocation of S. Boal, at Salamanca and near Cuellar. Various references exist to a monastery called after S. Baudelio, all of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, too late for the building. The place is named by Archbishop Turpin, for instance. The region was repeopled by Alfonso el Batallador shortly after 1108, and beyond the

Cf. p. 68

**Berlanga** town and by the road as you go afoot from Berlanga to find the hermitage stands a wayside cross of stone, double-barred, that portends the presence, once, of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. They did not come, however, till the first quarter of that century was past; they may have brought the painter who made all the interior so strange and lovely, but they built after another manner. It is necessary to suppose that after Almanzor had passed for the last time this hermit and his brethren picked their way down into the frontier, where the loneliness they craved was a complete certitude.

**Cross of S. Sepulchre**  
xii c.

**This hermitage**  
xi c.

The chapel lies away from the road, accessible by a cattle track; the scent of bruised thyme and lavender is strong, grey thistles stand and shiver, and, by the soaking springs of the hillside, a tall and silvery mint. Half way up it couches, brown like a rabbit, rough, dark stone-built, the little square apse projecting under its own gabled roof; and the door is in the north wall, looking out where a sharp horseshoe covers a door on well-built jambs, and the arch and

jambs are in two orders. The apse arch comes down doubled likewise, on its own jambs, the apse itself having a barrel-vault and the eastern window that is always required by the liturgical use of Spain; the square nave is ribbed by eight strong square ribs that descend along the walls, and again, at the centre, having completed their horse-shoe curve, descend on a central circular pier. In the space over this a tiny lantern is set, vaulted with four ribs that cross to leave an open square and two more ribs crossed over that, the silhouette of these too being horseshoe, and the style of vaulting this lantern not unparalleled in Spain, for indeed an instance occurs at Almazán just farther up the Duero. But all this delicate birdcage-work is now invisible except as broken places in the chapel vault let it be divined, for the web of the vault comes down between the ribs that emerge on the pier. As the plastering and painting of this pier are poor stuff, unlike the remainder, I have wondered if the Mozarabic architect might have tried for a central pendant, hanging in it his birdcage-lantern,

Arch of  
2 orders,  
cf. p. 131

Plate XIX

Berlanga

and the pier been set thereunder when his experiment, as the years passed, was shaken. At the walls the ribs hang, without corbel, against the centre of each side, but in the angles is a niche, of the sort that Arab builders set at Ukhaidir:<sup>25</sup> an interval of wall elapses between niche and rib-foot but gradually the fabric of the vault defines itself and is drawn together, turning in like a cloistered vault.

Plate  
XLVIII

In the hillside beyond the southwest corner is a cave, with lateral galleries, at a higher level than the church, and a door that would admit straight to the western gallery. The gallery is carried on ten columns and arches, arranged in two rows, and projects at the centre awkwardly on two more against the aforesaid pier, where a tiny oratory holds an altar, with windows east and west and a barrel-vault turned over it, the oratory being about the size of a comfortable pulpit. All this may be a provision for S. Baudel, who lived in the cave by an anchoritic rule; or the cave may have pre-existed and determined the site, and gallery and oratory have belonged

Fig. 36

to the choir simply. The strangest thing of all, is how the rows of columns underneath the gallery suggest the serried aisles of mosques of the Syrian or Mesopotamian type—those at Cordova and Damascus, for instance, that of Ibn Tulun at Cairo, those, again, at Ukhadir and Samarra.

The indescribable orientalism of effect is due in part to the paintings that cover all the walls, patterning the ribs and banding the gallery arcade, but these not being supposed contemporary, and being pretty certainly contemporary with the *pantheon* ceiling at S. Isidore of Leon, albeit different, they cannot be considered here. Ecclesiologists are agreed that this is the most Mahomedan example of Mozarabic art; to me it seems by far the latest; at that it must be left. The grey stone cross, double-barred, by the road we came, insistent rises again in memory.

Plate  
XLIX  
Mosque  
parallels

xi c.  
or  
xii c.?



This ends the examination of the more important pre-Romanesque churches in

Conclusions

Spain. It has been apparent that, from the Visigothic epoch, some eight or ten survived, insignificant or inaccessible; that they had characters in common, including the horseshoe arch and a recognizable sculpture derivative from the classical; that in the Asturias, chiefly during the ninth century, a style developed different from the foregoing Visigothic or the following Mozarabic, a great advance being made in building science, and definite liturgical needs imposing changes. Nine at least of these churches can be seen, with some aftermath. Thereafter, and chiefly in the tenth century, a new style appeared, which had originated in the south from the contact of Spanish with Arab builders. This new importation was modified by Asturian traits, but keeps its chief marks: the horseshoe arch carried down beyond the diameter to one-third the radius, the fluted domical vault, the stone eaves-brackets carved with star and helix. Ten or twelve of these churches have both dates and remains to show. That amounts in all to something between thirty and forty

Fig. 38

churches, all documented, that show a consistent, logical and architectural progression, within rather a wide range of types. The pure basilican type as the west knew it is not represented, for reasons that have been suggested, but the rectangular and the cruciform interior appear in many forms, with a peculiar preference for an exterior aspect piling up at successive levels toward a high central mass, and an interior much subdivided which intrigues the imagination. Continuous eastern contact is demonstrable, and the part of Byzantium has not yet been estimated.

There was, then, in Spain no Carolingian epoch in the sense that the epithet holds in Italy, France, or the Rhineland, for from the time of Charlemagne to within a generation of the First Crusade Spanish architecture was growing steadily in a time of national expansion, finding new forms for itself, and absorbing oriental contributions directly or by way of Cordova. If we compare it not with European but with out-lying Asiatic lands, at the same age or after, with Anatolia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and

Docu-  
mentationdevelop-  
mentCarolingian  
with a  
difference

Style  
formed  
early

the Christian remains in Syria, and then add the Greek school with Servia and Bulgaria, that developed along their own lines through what was the Romanesque age of the West, it becomes clear that the Spanish school was independent, inventive, and very early. The simple truth is that for comparison with Armenia or Asia Minor, as with Greece, it affords evidence which will serve for parallels, not sources.

Intruding  
styles  
transformed

Political exigencies forced the hand of Alfonso VI, and for a time the growth of a free national art was checked, but with surprising vigour it began modifying, altering, refashioning the new forms. So much is, by now, widely recognized by scholars. Even as the Visigothic race was absorbed ultimately into the Spanish, and left no permanent mark even upon the jeweller's craft, so on the other hand the French Romanesque, like the Italian Renaissance, was changed and given back to the givers.<sup>26</sup> Thus what Burgundian art had learned from the eastern end of the Mediterranean and beyond, was readily assimilated by Spain in the twelfth century; and it was

on what the rich sculptural art of Northern Italy and the Carrara masters sought to effect in subtle modulations of tone and of light in relief and pattern, that the style of the sixteenth century flourished.

The art of Spain is alluvial, said Lampérez once with a touch of melancholy, deploring the rapidity with which fresh floods of invasion brought their deposit to overlay the past. True it is that in every age change fell too soon upon Spain. So on Mozarabic art a wind blew out of the north, chilling; and Gothic never came to fruition; and the magic withered which was birthright of the lineage of Churri-guerra till like dried leaves it drove down the wind and was lost. Yet to express what happened in the westernmost land of the world, a truer comparison lies in the veins and grains of gold that are dug out of the rocks of mountains or washed down among the sands of rivers, upon which each age sets its image and superscription but always it is gold. For art cannot be imported, only the moulds of it.

*Quid tu vides  
Amos?  
Et dixi,  
Uncinum  
pomorum*

## NOTES

## I

## GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

## Sources

<sup>1</sup> Sources: Altamira, *Historia*, 2d edition, Vol. I; Altamira in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, II, vi and III, xvi; Lampérez, *Historia de la Arquitectura*, I, 23-116; Lampérez, "El Bizantinismo en la arquitectura Cristiana Española," *Bol. Español.*, VIII (1900), 82, 111, 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Bol. Español.*, XXVI (1918) plate at p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Puig y Cadafalch, *L'Arquitectura Románica*, I, 351, Fig. 398.

<sup>4</sup> Altamira, *Historia*, I, 170; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, III, vii. For eastern contact cf. generally De Wald, *The Appearance of the Horseshoe Arch in Western Europe*, with references to the Fathers, and G. G. King, *Way of S. James*, with bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> This is based on Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* IV, Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*.

<sup>6</sup> Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, I, 402.

<sup>7</sup> *Id., ibid.*, I, 507, 513.

<sup>8</sup> Altamira, *Cam. Med. Hist.* II, 192; C. U. Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica*, 8, 75. On Sisebut cf. Dr. James, *Cam. Med. Hist.* III, 492.

<sup>9</sup> Isidore, *Etymol.*, XV, *De Aedificiis et Agris*: in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII.

<sup>10</sup> This was noted by Sr. López Ferreiro in *Historia de la S.A.M. Iglesia*, III, 31. The horseshoe arch is on second-century steles found mostly in Leon and Palencia, published by F. Fita in *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, XI; cf. *Bol. R. A. Hist.* XLV (1900), 157. With them must be compared the Coptic steles in Gayet, *L'Art Copte*, pp. 78, 85, 86, 89, cf. 232, 234. Grave-steles in Constantinople repeat the motive of the Door of Death, but I have not seen there the horseshoe arch as it exists in Egypt. It is plain however that the Visigoths found the form already accepted and familiar; they used it, as this book will show, in plan, in elevation, and in decoration; the Spaniards have fancied it always and used it at least as late as the Renaissance, for instance in the cloister of S. Engracia at Saragossa, built by Tudelilla of Tarazona in 1536; cf. G. G. King, "A Note on the So-Called Horse-Shoe Architecture of Spain," *A.J.A.*, XX (1916) 407-16. The most important discussion of the subject is that published by Gómez-Moreno under the title "Excursión a través del arco de herradura" in *Cultura Española* (1906), 785-811; second only to that, and invaluable (though not wholly complete and perhaps not always impeccable in too-easy acceptance of rash assurance of other writers) is the article of Professor E. T. De Wald, already cited, "The Appearance of the Horse-Shoe Arch," *A.J.A.* XXVI (1922), 316-37. Cf. also Velasquez Bosco, *Medina Azzahra*, pp. 8-17, figs. 4-12 and Pl. III.

Horseshoe arch

I General      <sup>11</sup> Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*: Bosra, § A, IV, p. 233; Babiska, B. IV, 164; Ruweha, B. III, 142; Dar Kita, B. IV, 177-193; Der Siman, B. VI, 265.

Catalan capitals      <sup>12</sup> *España Sagrada*, XIII, 335.  
<sup>13</sup> Altamira, *Cam. Med. Hist.*, II, 192.  
<sup>14</sup> Dozy, *Recherches*, I, 16-20.  
<sup>15</sup> Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy*, pp. 105, 127. For the capitals that anticipate the Catalans, cf. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, IV, Aversa, xvi, 2, and Nonantola crypt, clv, 2.

Creatures in compartments      <sup>16</sup> Cf. Alinari photo. No. 18090. In Constantinople Museum in a slab, perhaps the earliest of the sort, where the imbricated pattern is filled in with birds (two geese and two doves), fishes, an urn, two sunflowers and some leaf and lily patterns; the catalogue says, "good sixth-century work."  
<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 65.  
<sup>18</sup> *Amurath to Amurath*, Fig. 6, also in Strzygowsky's *Amida*, p. 200.  
<sup>19</sup> Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, § B. II, 67, Odjeh; p. 85, Idjaz, Church of the Holy Apostles. It is worth remark that a lintel preserves in the same village some animals framed in squares, like in intention to those at Constantinople and Ravenna, though here the squares are strung along between disks and interlaces; and the whole is called "a form of decoration elsewhere unknown in Syria": p. 86, and Ill. 95.  
<sup>20</sup> The design that I have named the Dusaris-motive, after the Nabataean god whose

Dusaris-  
motive

shrine at S. I shows early experiments with the vine and grape-clusters (cf. Butler, *op. cit.*, § A, IV, VI, VII), is found, widely dispersed through Europe in the early Middle Age: e. g., on the sarcophagus of Theodata, at Pavia, A. D. 720, on the Acca Cross, in North-umberland, A. D. 740. It is attempted at S. Pietro di Civate (Como), A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, IV, Pl. lvii; the Church of Aurona, *id. ibid.*, cxiv, cxv; and in a very beautiful panel on the marble door-valve of S. Maria in Valle, Cividale (762-76), Cattaneo, p. 115, with which should be compared the Syrian basalt doors in Butler, *op. cit.*, § B. II, p. 66, Ill. 67, 68, 116. A later development of the theme is found at S. Abbondio, Como, 1013, in the same church at Cividale, c. 1100 (says Cattaneo, pp. 110-18), and on the Ruthwell and the Bewcastle Cross, cf. B. Brown, *The Arts in Early England* V, and A. S. Cook, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, especially Fig. 32.

<sup>21</sup> A. de los Rios, *El Arte Latino-Bizantino en España*: quatrefoil, Pl. II, 2 and 11, III, 12; lily, III, 7; also III, 13, cf. Butler, *op. et loc. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Lampérez, *Historia de la Arquitectura*, p. 138; Cattaneo, p. 105.

#### EXAMINATION OF CHURCHES

It seems unnecessary to transcribe a reference to Lampérez, volume and page, for each of the churches in this book; the reader may take it for granted.

I Churches <sup>1</sup> S. Cornide, *Antigüedades de Cabeza del Griego; Memorias de la R. A. de la Historia*, III; Fita and Rada y Delgado in *Bol. R. A. Historia*, XV (1889) 107; Pelayo Quintero, in *Bol. Español.*, I (1893), 114-16; Allende Salazar, in *Bol. Español.*, XIII (1905), 137.

*Arc en-fer-à- cheval* <sup>2</sup> Cattaneo, p. 147; Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, IV, Pl. xxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Agapito y Revilla, *La Basilica Visigoda de S. Juan Bautista* (1902) and articles in *Bol. Castellan*, December, 1903, and February, 1906. Eugenio Muñoz Ramos, "El Agua que bebió Recesvinto," *Bol. Castellan.*, December, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cattaneo, Fig. 113, an eighth-century capital from the Rotunda at Brescia; Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, IV, capitals from S. Stefano, Bologna, Pl. xxv, 5, Brescia Museum, xxxvi, 5, S. Lorenzo, Verona, ccxxi, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Mon. Arquit.*, plates in Vol. IX; cf. also the new series of *Mon. Arquit.*, plates for S. Eulalia and S. Roman in Toledo. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, p. 213, gives a line drawing of the Greek capital, and the Syrian precursor may be seen at the Tychaion of Is-Sanamen, A. D. 191, Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, § A, Plate XIX. With the Merida capital should be compared also both capital and frieze in the drawing from the tomb at Ataman, § A, V, 309, Ill. 280.

<sup>6</sup> Morales, *Chronicle*, chap. 37, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> Ponz, *Viaje de España*, XI, iv, 112; Quadrado, *Palencia (España sus Monu-*

Capital-type

mentos), 331-35; cf. Simon y Nieto, "Descubrimientos Arqueologicos," *Bol. Espanol.*, XIV (1906), 65.

<sup>8</sup> *Architecture and Other Arts*, p. 236; "The plan of which," says Butler, "differs from that of any other in the entire region."

<sup>9</sup> Millet, *L'Ecole Grecque*, p. 131, Fig. 64.

<sup>10</sup> Dighour may be found in Ferguson, *History of Architecture*, II, 465 (Fig. 910); Usunlar in the same book, overleaf, in Grimm, *Monuments d'Architecture en Géorgie et en Arménie*, and in Strzygowsky, *Armenia*, Fig. 208, pp. 174-76. Mourier, *L'Art Religieux au Caucase*, p. 10, says built 718-29.

<sup>11</sup> Villa-amil, *Iglesias Gallegas*, pp. 16-18, with plan and section; Sales y Ferré, *Boletín de la Comision de Monumentos de Orense*, I, xiv; Bernardino Martín Mínguez, *De la Cantabria*, p. 101-02; López Ferreiro, *Historia de la S.A.M.*, II, 280, 305, 309, Append. LXXV; Gómez-Moreno, in essay on S. Pedro de la Nave, *Bol. Castellan.*, May, 1906, pp. 369, 370.

<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the shrine is probably older than Christianity, for in Gallegan folk-lore S. Comba is a witch, who met Christ when He was going about in the world, and gave up her foul practises, and at least one *copla* picked up there deals with witchcraft. Considering her Dove name, it is likely the poor witch-lady is only the last avatar of Dea Syria who as Ataecina was worshipped aforetime in these parts, till Christ supplanted her; so Apollo at Delphi took over the sanctuary

S. Comba

I Churches

but left there as Sibyl or priestess the earlier earth-goddess. V. Murguia, *Galicia (España sus Monumentos)* pp. 218-21.

*Arc outre-passé*

<sup>13</sup> This is said after personal examination of the church. Because in our photographs the windows look quite as near the *arc outrepassé* as those in many of Miss Lowthian Bell's pictures of Anatolian churches I take the occasion to say that nothing but the most careful observation on the spot can ever decide about this form, and the notebook must outrank the camera, for photographs, especially when taken from below, often will make an arch appear *outrepassé* when the curve does not go beyond the diameter. In this respect some of Professor De Wald's examples are suspect (*op. laud.*, pp. 321-23) for I cannot believe I should have failed to note the fact, had it occurred, at S. Vitale and S. Sophia.

<sup>14</sup> Millet, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53; Strzygowsky, *Armenia*, 684, 685; cf. Pl. XIV, a drawing for which I am indebted to D. Angel del Castillo.

<sup>15</sup> Migne, Pat. Lat. LXXXII; Isidor. *Etym.* XV, viii, *De Part. Edif.*

<sup>16</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Bol. Castellan.*, IV (1906), May, 365-73. F. Anton, in the August number of the same year, pp. 448-52, also Agapito y Revilla, 452-54.

<sup>17</sup> Ramsay and Bell, *1001 Churches*, Fig. 55.

<sup>18</sup> Butler, *Revue Archéologique*, 1906, 413-23; *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, § A, V, 315-22; Resapha, Sarre-Herzfelt, *Reise*, II, v; cf. Ochridia, Millet, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43, 126.

<sup>19</sup> The Church of Aurona at Milan, c. 740, is discussed in Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, II, 520, IV, cxiv.

<sup>20</sup> Byz. Denkm. II, 100, 229.

<sup>21</sup> Millet, *op. cit.*, 60; cf. *Revue Archéol.* V (1905), 106; Mourier, *L'Art Religieux au Caucase*, p. 13 and note: The church of Kutais was begun by Bagrat III (d. 1014) for the sake of his mother's soul; Bagrat IV married Helena of Byzance, the Emperor Argyrus' daughter, and secured from the Emperor architects and workmen to complete the building. Strzygowsky, *Armenia*, pp. 165, 167-73, cites inscriptions at Thalin dated A. D. 783 and 1040; the former presumably is preserved from an earlier building.

Armenian churches

<sup>22</sup> *Arquitectura Romanica*, I, 323-40; Lampérez, *Bol. Español.*, X (1902), 49.

<sup>23</sup> Lampérez, *Revue Hispanique*, XVI (1907), "Sobre algunas possibles influencias de la arquitectura. . . ." This is perhaps the place to say that I have read carefully all that I know which the French and Italian ecclesiologists have written upon this church and on all those with which this book is concerned. With a great personal admiration for them, and a greater debt, intellectual and scholarly, for their fine teaching and admirable learning, I have to avow regretfully that in the matter of Spain I have never found their knowledge quite adequate or their judgment entirely impartial. "Chauvinism," "campanilismo," are names they found themselves for the foible that I deplore, while I feel relieved from

French and  
Italian  
Ecclesiolo-  
gists

I Churches

any duty to argue the case. The curious will find a statement of the case more moderate than most Americans today would draw up, written about twenty years ago by Sr. Lampérez, in his book, Vol. I, pp. 185-91, 325, 326. On Theodulf as Spaniard cf. M. R. James in *Cam. Med. Hist.* III, xx, 518: another Spaniard was the great Agobard of Lyons, *op. et loc. cit.*, 520.

<sup>24</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 185; Morales, *Viaje*, p. 11; *Chronicle*, XII, xxviii.

<sup>25</sup> Lampérez, "Otra Iglesia Visigoda," *Bol. Castellan.*, December, 1909, 265-68.

<sup>26</sup> Agapito y Revilla, "La Cueva de S. Antolín," *Bol. Castellan.*, October, 1905, 193-96, and "Arquitectura Cristiana Primitiva de Castilla," *ibid.*, February, 1906, 289-92; Simon y Nieto, "Descubrimientos," *Bol. Españolol.*, XIV (1906), 65.

<sup>27</sup> Gómez-Moreno, "De Arq. Moz.," *Bol. Españolol.*, XXI (1913), 105.

<sup>28</sup> Mon. Arquit. New Series, *cuadernos* 3-5, with plates.

<sup>29</sup> *Id. ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Conde de Cedilla, in *Cultura Españolola*, VII, 1907, "Un Monumento Desconocido." A good *compte rendu* in *Bol. Españolol.*, XV (1907), 193-202. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, pp. 14-27.

<sup>31</sup> Ramsay and Bell, *1001 Churches*, pp 12-15.

Lampérez  
sustains  
him

## II

## GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Sources: Altamira and Lampérez as above; also Altamira, *Cam. Med. Hist.* II, vi and III, xvi; *Mon. Arquit.*, in which I think all these churches are represented, with beautiful old lithograph drawings; Vigil, *Asturias Monumental, Epigrafica y Diplomatica*; F. de Selgas, *Monumentos Ovetenses del Siglo IX*; Redondo, *Iglesias primitivas de Asturias*; Quadrado, *Asturias (España sus Monumentos)*; G. G. King, *Notes to Street, Gothic Architecture*, I, 168, 184, 219-25.

<sup>1</sup> Altamira, *Historia*, I, 229.

<sup>2</sup> F. de Selgas, *op. laud.*, p. 50, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Courajod, *Leçons Professées*, I, 164, citing Synesius, early VI century: "In our cities the mason, the water carrier, the porter, all are Goths." Lampérez, "El Bizantinismo," *Bol. Español.* VIII (1900), especially pp. 92-94. Schäube, in *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker*, sticks too much to his Mittelmeer but indicates the points of departure on the east coast, §§ 75, 158, 248-61, 420-432.

Goths  
everywhere

<sup>4</sup> In confirmation of this cf. G. Lowthian Bell, *Ukhaidir*, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> G. Lowthian Bell, "The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin," in *Amida*, p. 224.

II General <sup>6</sup> Cf. Ramsay and Bell, *1001 Churches*, a chapel published as No. 36 (Fig. 130, pp. 176 and 324), and Tchangli-Klisze (Fig. 331); here the recesses however are barrel-vaulted. Cf. also S. Miguel de Olerdula (Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 56). Also G. Lowthian Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 310, 324, and *Ukhaidir*, chapter iv, *passim*. Finally, upon the architecture of the Tur Abdin note Miss Bell, *op. laud.*, p. 224:

Rum "The Tur Abdin belongs to Rum, that is to say its civilization was a part of the widespread culture of the Hellenistic East. . . . The northern limits of the Mesopotamian plain, and the mountains beyond, were ruled by those mighty influences, part Greek, part Asiatic, which were probably the most powerful and the most productive of all the forces that were brought to bear upon the ancient world."

#### EXAMINATION OF CHURCHES

Churches <sup>1</sup> "La primitiva basilica de Santiañes de Pravia," in *Bol. Español.*, X (1902), 5, 28, 52; cf. Morales, *Viaje*, pp. 109-10.

<sup>2</sup> H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie*, 1907, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Strzygowsky, *Armenia*, pp. 237, 238, 255. Figs. 266, 270, 282-84, 771-76, 8; Lynch, *Armenia*, II, 386.

<sup>4</sup> *España Sagrada*, XIII, 453. V. also F. de Selgas, *Monumentos Ovetenses*, pp. 89-94. and the articles on Oviedo and the Cathedral, in *Bol. Español.*, XVI (1908), 102, 162, 281. Grimm's drawings, *op. cit.*, show such a

pantheon at Sanahin, built by the Bagratid King Aktor the Merciful, 961–69, rebuilt 1063, 1181, 1230; also at Akhpat, A. D. 977–91, 1016, and 1183.

<sup>5</sup> Morales, *Chronicle*, Bk. XIII, chap. xxxviii; *Id.*, *Viaje*, pp. 86, 87; F. de Selgas, *op. cit.*, Camara Santa, 56–67, Basilica del Rey Casto, 68–88. For the X c. dragon-fragment at Cordova cf. Velazquez Bosco, *Medina Azzahra*, Pl. XXXV, 5.

<sup>6</sup> F. de Selgas, *op. cit.*, 94–102, and in *Bol. Español.*, XXIV (1916), 29–51 and 97–139, with 27 plates.

<sup>7</sup> *Revue Archéol.* (1906) 413–23; *Ancient Architecture in Syria* § A, pp. 316–20.

<sup>8</sup> G. Lowthian Bell, *Amida*, p. 230; Strzygowsky draws the parallel between Santullano and these churches, p. 275. For Cretan churches consult Gerola, *Mon. Veneti*, pp. 207–208, figs. 173–7, 179, 209, 252, 278. In Coptic Egypt the desert convent of Amba Bishoi (VI–VII c. and X–XI c.) has the same sort of wide transverse bay eastward of the nave: cf. A. J. Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches*, I, 310–16; Gayet, *L'Art Copte*, p. 173–76.

<sup>9</sup> Pognon, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 97. I must believe that this accounts for the strange Spanish *coro* which Prof. Butler remarked at Mirayeh and Il-Firdjeh, Kalota and Kharab Shems; *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, § B, II, pp. 69–70, Ill. 74, 77; VII, pp. 316, 323–24, Ill. 349, 364.

<sup>10</sup> Arcade and pilasters in F. de Selgas, *op. cit.*; marble from Saragossa in Gómez-

Churches  
Armenian

Cretan and  
Coptic  
Space-  
composi-  
tion the  
issue

Coro in  
nave

II Churches Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, II, x; from Cordova in Velazquez Bosco, *Medina Azahra*, Pl. XXVIII.

<sup>11</sup> F. de Selgas, *op. cit.*, "Las Iglesias de Naranco," 114-37; Morales, *Viaje*, pp. 102, 103. Chron. Albendense, *España Sagrada*, XIII, 453-57. Chron. Sebastiani, *id. ibid.*, 490.

<sup>12</sup> Chronicon Monachì Silensis, *España Sagrada*, XVII, 282; Chron. Sebast., *id.*, XIII, 488-90.

<sup>13</sup> Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, pp. 370-75, Fig. 129; published already by de Vogüé, from whom our plate is taken.

<sup>14</sup> Clitumnus, cut in Rivoira, *Architettura Mussulmana*, p. 344, Fig. 306; Amaghu, Strzygowsky, *Armenia*, 708, Fig. 675; also in Millet, *op. cit.*, Fig. 38.

<sup>15</sup> Palace in 151 *España Sagrada*, XIII, 454, § 59; *id. ibid.*, 490; Silense, *id.*, XVII, 282; Morales, *Chronicle*, XIII, liij. The inscription was published by D. Fermín Canella Secade, *Bol. R. A. Historia*, V, 67-97; he quotes an Act of the Chapter of Oviedo, March 21, 1511, that shows the palace was still standing and used for disciplinary retreats of the cathedral clergy; *op. laud.*, p. 88, note 1. S. Tirso in Toledo, Lampérez, *op. laud.*, I, 213, from a MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional, R. 18.

<sup>16</sup> G. Lowthian Bell, *op. laud.*, pp. 236, 256. Some of the Cretan churches also employ this device, Temenja, and S. George at Apodhulu, are pictured in Gerola, *Mon. Venet.* Figs. 261 and 137.

<sup>17</sup> The rectangular church with two chapels as arms is not uncommon in Anatolia; cf. Ramsay and Bell, *1001 Churches*, No. 21, p. 117, and Süt Kilissé, p. 373, Fig. 297; cf. also Grimm, Manglis and Getathi, in Georgia. Note that the oriental church of S. Praxed's in Rome has a cruciform chapel in that position; so Milan, S. Satiro; Cattaneo, *op. cit.*, 44. S. Cristina I have seen outside but never entered. One of the carved slabs is very like a fragment of frieze in S. Francisco of Avilés, published by F. de Selgas, "Monumentos de Avilés," *Bol. Español.*, XV (1907), pp. 21, 22. The symbol of S. Matthew at Cividale is in Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, IV, lxx, 3.

Anatolia

<sup>18</sup> Morales, *Viaje*, pp. 102, 103; *Chronicle* XIII, iv.; Lampérez, *Bol. Español.*, XXV (1917), 25, gives fresh plans based on new excavations.

Georgia

Italy  
vi c.

<sup>19</sup> Ramsay and Bell, *1001 Churches*, pp. 71-79; this church had originally three parallel barrel-vaults, for which a series of transverse barrel-vaults was substituted; one of the very few cases of this in Europe may be seen at Tournus.

Transverse  
barrel-  
vaulting

<sup>20</sup> Adalia, *Annual of the Italian School at Athens*, III, Fig. 1; Cattaneo, pp. 283, 288.

<sup>21</sup> Gómez-Moreno will class this as Mozarabic work; the difference of opinion is purely nominal. Morales gives an account in his *Chronicle*, XIII, xxiii; cf. "La Basilica de S. Salvador de Val de Dios" by José F. Menéndez, in *Bol. Español.*, XXVII (1919), 78-88.

## II Churches

<sup>22</sup> Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, for Behyo, p. 204, fig. 80; Khirbit-Hass, p. 92, fig. 31; *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Brad, B. VI, 311, Ill. 343; Dar Kita, B, IV, 184-86, Ill. 191.

<sup>23</sup> Cattaneo, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 86; window from Venice, 120.

<sup>24</sup> Before leaving the Italian parallels I should like to call to notice that a Cividale decorative motive occurs on a Roman tombstone of the Asturias. Like the horseshoe arch on other steles, it may be oriental in provenance all the same (F. de Selgas, *Mon. Ovet.*, p. 204). A beautiful XV c. variant seems to exist at Mzchet, in Georgia, engraved in Grimm, *op. laud.*

## Syrian parallels

<sup>25</sup> *Mon. Arquit.*, monograph by J. Amador de los Rios. Here may be cited three or four Syrian parallels from Butler: the convent chapel of Il-Karis which duplicates the Asturian arrangement of eastern and western ends, but seems to have had a triforium, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, A, V, 331-33, Ill. 302; and the chapels, without aisles or narthex but with south cloister, at Rhbea, Kfer and Srir, *Architecture and Other Arts*, p. 102, fig. 38, p. 149, fig. 58, p. 151, fig. 59.

<sup>26</sup> Vigil, *op. cit.* 226; Quadrado, *Asturias (España sus Mon.)*, p. 142. *Iglesias Márabes*, I, 86-88. *España Sagrada*, XIV, 401; XXXVII, 250.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-75. For the Asturian arcade there are Coptic parallels: cf. note 33.

<sup>28</sup> Of Fuentes, in *Mon. Arquit.*, no monograph exists, but a fine plate. Tuñon appears in Morales, *Chronicle*, XIII, xxi, and *Viaje*, p. 103. Capitals at Seville like the other Spanish work here cited, in *Mon. Arquit.*; Santiañes parapet in F. de Selgas, *op. et loc. cit.* Ani, Strzygowsky, *Armenia*, p. 317 [Ani cathedral 989-1001, rebuilt 1215], note that the Asturian cross called "of the angels" is engraved on an abacus in that plate.

Cf.  
Pottery  
from  
Gournia

<sup>29</sup> Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, B. I., pp. 19-21.

Buttresses

<sup>30</sup> Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, p. 97; for Africa cf. Enlart, *Archéol.* I, 127, but I cannot find plans in Gsell to confirm this. M. Gsell says, indeed, *Les Monuments Antiques de l'Algérie* (II, 139), "Dans bien des ruines l'épaisseur des murs, le cadre rectangulaire, les contreforts, les tubes d'argile et les débris des massifs de maçonnerie prouvent l'existence d'une voûte au cul de four." The church of Timgad (p. 312, fig. 144) which he thinks had probably five buttresses radiating from the apse like Il-Barah, supplies the only instance in his book that I can find; nor does Diehl (*Manuel*, pp. 114-17, 176, 177) mention buttresses in Africa; in Diehl's work *L'Afrique Byzantine* the word *contrefort* does not appear in the index nor the object upon the plans. Ballu, moreover, after seven years of discoveries in Timgad, shows no buttress upon any plan: *Les Ruines de Timgad, sept ans de découvertes*. Certain plans of forts and monasteries, in Diehl and Gsell, suggest that the curtain wall was strengthened on the

II Churches Syrian parallels apse-arcading S. Martin Ces Corts	<p>interior by thickenings which carried arches, as at Ukhaidir; cf. G. Lowthian Bell, <i>op. laud.</i>, Pl. vii.</p> <p><sup>31</sup> Butler, <i>Ancient Architecture in Syria</i>, Kanawât, A, V, 346-50, Ill. 315, Slem, <i>id.</i> pp. 356-59, Ill. 320; <i>Architecture and Other Arts</i>: iv-vi c., p. 96, fig. 34; p. 154, fig. 62; p. 202, fig. 79. The churches which follow may be found, <i>Id. ibid.</i>, p. 143, fig. 55; pp. 193-94, fig. 74; p. 221, fig. 89; p. 185, fig. 73.</p> <p><sup>32</sup> <i>Art in Spain and Portugal</i>, I.</p> <p><sup>33</sup> Apse-arcading: Kef, Dar-el-Kous, Diehl, <i>L'Afrique Byzantine</i>, 423, 424. Khakh, G. Lowthian Bell, <i>Amida</i>, p. 258. In the White Monastery in Upper Egypt the narthex-chapel comes very close in form to the churches in the Tur Abdin, and is arcaded around as are also the major and two minor apses eastward, while the rudimentary transept-ends, rectangular, seem even closer to the apse of Fuentes and the like; A. J. Butler, <i>Ancient Coptic Churches</i>, I, 351-57, cf. also the convent of S. John, p. 365: cf. Gayet, <i>L'Art Copte</i>, White Convent, pp. 141, 142, 147, Red Convent, 148. Marmaschen, XI c. (986-1009); Strzygowsky, <i>Armenia</i>, 200; Ischchan, <i>id.</i>, 487, 488. The form is not uncommon in Catalan Romanesque, and may be observed on consulting Puig y Cadafalch, <i>Arquitectura Romanica</i>, II; S. Maria de Roses, pp. 204, 503; S. Martin Ces Corts, 253; S. Jaume de Frontinyá, 263, and III, S. Martin Sarroca, 430; all these are niched; a plain arcade is at S. Quirse de Culera, II, 206; S. Miguel de Fluvia, II, 210.</p>
--	--

## III

## GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Sources: In Yépes, Sandoval, and Escalona with *España Sagrada* most of this material is to be found: for the moderns, consult Altamira, Lampérez, as above, Gómez-Moreno, "De Arqueología Mozárabe," *Bol. Español.*, XXI (1913), 89-116; *Id.*, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, which contains all the churches discussed here, and a few more; J. E. Diaz-Jiménez, "Inmigración Mozárabe en el Reino de León," *Bol. R. A. Historia*, XX (1892), 123-51. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*. G. G. King, *Way of S. James*.

<sup>1</sup> So Sr. Gómez-Moreno; I am not perfectly sure, and Professor Palache of Harvard, in kindly replying to a question, seems to feel that no one could be entirely certain of the marble.

Proconesus  
marble

<sup>2</sup> Brehier, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1909, "L'Art du Moyen Age, est-il d'origine orientale?" p. 661; Altamira, *Historia*, I, 336, Fig. 83. Cf. in the Venice Academy a triptych attributed to Jacobello del Fiore. The Incarnation at the moment of the Annunciation, represented in the X c. Leonese MS. by a baby's head emerging from the Mother's dress, and similarly in the VI c. Coptic fresco, and the Venetian painting of the XV c., not only recurs with a sun, face-marked, substituted for the child's head in popular polychrome sculpture of the XVII and XVIII centuries in Spain, but is hinted

The  
symbols of  
Incarnation

III General

and perpetuated in the favourite way of arranging a Dressed Virgin, *e. g.*, that at Guadelupe, even to this day.

\* Gómez-Moreno gives the document in *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 117, note.

\* *España Sagrada*, XVI, 34, 324; cf. G. G. King, *Way of S. James*, II, pp. 351-53.

\* Unpublished fragment of the Chronicle of Abenhayán in the Oxford codex, supplied by Palacios Asin to Gómez-Moreno, in *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 107, note.

\* *España Sagrada*, XL, 202, XVIII, 79, XXII, 72; Morales, *Viaje*, 164; Villa-amil, *Iglesias Gallegas*, pp. 19-26, Diaz-Jiménez, *Inmigracion*, pp. 124-25. G. G. King, *Way of S. James*, II, 417-19; López Ferreiro, *Historia de la S.A.M.*, *passim*; *Id.*, *Galicia en el Ultimo Tercio*, I, 344; II, 78; Murguia, *Galicia (España sus Mon.)*, p. 1011; Iturraldi y Suit, IV, 380; F. de Selgas, *Mon. Ovet.* 188, note.

\* The Secretaries of the Knight of Rozmital, in Fabié, *Viajes por España*, pp. 165-67; Mos-sén Diego de Valera, and Hernando del Pulgar, in the *Chronicles*.

MSS. of Beatus

\* Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, 131. The Ashburnam-Thompson Apocalypse of Beatus, A. D. 926, which is now in the Morgan collection in New York, is very beautiful in colour and fine in design: that of Tavara, A. D. 968, I have not handled; but thanks to the kindness of the Chapter at La Seo de Urgell, I have been able also to work over the example which they possess, and which is probably of the XI century.

<sup>9</sup> *España Sagrada*, XXIII, 312. "He who gave the good laws," the historians name him; Dozy, *Recherches*, I, 204.

## EXAMINATION OF CHURCHES

<sup>1</sup> Risco copied it: *España Sagrada*, XXXV, 311, cf. also XVIII, 229. Fita, *Bol. R. A. Historia*, XXXI (1897), 466. Lázaro, *Bol. Español.*, XI (1903), 8, 36, 59, 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. laud.*, p. 230. Cf. Rivoira (*Le Origine*) slabs from Toscanella, Figs. 138, 139, one of which he attributes to the epoch of Master Rodbert (739) and the other to the time of Pope Leo III or Eugenius II, (c. 824); and the S. Ambrogio jamb-carving, fig. 290. The beautiful slab of Aquileia (1027-29) shows the last withered leaves of this sort, and starveling birds set among new motives drawn from the Orient afresh (cf. note 26). The superb helix at Aosta, and the fragments from Ferentino, unaccountably neglected by Rivoira, may be studied in Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* IV, xii, 1 and 3, lix, 2, cxcviii, 7: I suppose them carvings of the ninth century.

Carolingian  
carving

<sup>3</sup> Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, *passim*; G. G. King, *Way of St. James*, II, 118-51; Diaz-Jiménez, *Inmigración*, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>4</sup> Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, p. 379.

<sup>5</sup> Agapito y Revilla, *La Iglesia de S. Cebrián de Mazote*, 1903; Lampérez, *Bol. Español.*, X (1902), 185-93.

<sup>6</sup> Gómez-Moreno, in *Bol. Castellan.*, VII (1909), 193-204.

III  
Churches

<sup>7</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Bol. Castellan.*, VI (1908), 401-03.

<sup>8</sup> Murguia, *Galicia (España sus Monumentos)*, pp. 1006-15; Villa-amil, *Iglesias Gallegas*, 1-15; López Ferreiro, *Historia de la S.A.M.*, *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> *Boletin de la Com. de Mon. Orense*. For eaves-brackets of this Mozarabic sort, cf. Velazquez Bosco, *Medina Azahra*, pp. 11-13, figs. 1-3.

<sup>10</sup> "Excursion a través," *Cultura Española*, 1906, pp. 804-09. *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. xix.

<sup>11</sup> *Viaje Sacro*, 196; Lampérez in *Bol. Español.*, IX (1901), 252.

<sup>12</sup> Ramsay and Bell, *1001 Churches*, pp. 310, 436.

<sup>13</sup> *Preussische Jahrbuch*, 1908, 63-76: "Makam Ali am Euphrat, ein Islamisches Bau-denkmal des X Jahrhunderts."

<sup>14</sup> Bernardino Martín Mínguez, *De la Cantabria*, p. 154, and generally pp. 99-191. The donation is translated from Gómez-Moreno, *op. laud.*, p. 269, note.

<sup>15</sup> Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, p. 237, fig. 96; *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, B. II. p. 70, Ill. 75, pp. 95-98, Ill. 113. G. Lowthian Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, pp. 189, 190, figs. 112, 113.

Armenian  
churches

<sup>16</sup> Strzygowsky, *Armenia*, Bana, p. 122, fig. 124; S. Gregory's near Ani, p. 126, fig. 129; the Redeemer, p. 134, fig. 143 and others following; Zwarthnotz, pp. 108-18, fig. 112; S. Gregory's the Illuminator, p. 119, fig. 122.

<sup>17</sup> Lampérez, "El Bizantinismo," in *Bol. Español.*, VIII (1900), 141.

<sup>18</sup> Costas y Montañas, Juan Garcia, Madrid, 1871; I have not seen this. Louroça in Portugal I have not seen: *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 100.

<sup>19</sup> G. G. King, *Way of S. James*, I, 177-83.

<sup>20</sup> F. de Selgas, *Mon. Ovet.*, p. 160. Caveda says, in his *Ensayo Historico* (1848), p. 94, that S. Zaornin or Saturnino was dedicated in 968 and was destroyed by his day. On the next page he cites a dedication at Olmedo to SS. Julian and Basilisa. Among the small churches of Crete twin apses seem not so uncommon; Gerola has plans, in *Monumenti Veneti*, of nine, which seem of this type (figs. 140, 147, 157, 170, 274, 275, 276, 283, 294) not Siamese twin nor what Butler calls double churches, nor yet polyapsidal and broken-down: two are dedicated to S. Michael, one each to the Holy Ghost and S. Nicholas, two to S. Mary, the others various.

Twins

<sup>21</sup> Other small churches that belong probably in this list are: S. Pedro de Rocas, Morales, *Viage*, 156; King, "Spanish Abbeys," *Journal American Institute of Architects*, 1919, 399-405; S. Franquilla, at S. Juan de Castron (province of Lemos) Villa-amil, *op. cit.*, p. 9; S. Verisimo, near Orense, *id., ibid.*, 16; S. Juan de Socueva, López Ferreiro, *Hist. de la S.A.M.*

<sup>22</sup> Puig y Cadafalch, *Arquitectura Romanica a Catalunya*, I, chap. xi, 359-94, II, 115.

III  
Churches

<sup>23</sup> *Bol. R.A. Historia*, XXIV, 240. Lam-pérez, "La Iglesia de S. Millan de la Cogolla de Suso," *Bol. Castellan.*, V (1907), 245-54. Murguia (*Galicia*, p. 774, note) cites a donation of A. D. 933. Gallegan churches, G. G. King, *Art Studies*, I, 61.

<sup>24</sup> Gómez-Moreno, in essay on S. Tomás de las Ollas, *Bol. Castellan.*, VI (1908), 403; Mélida and Alvárez, in *Bol. Español.*, XV (1907), pp. 144-56; Lafuente, *Bol. R. A. Historia*, V (1884), 331. For Turpin, cf. Dozy, *Recherches*, II, 384; for S. Boal, Quadrado in *Salamanca (España sus Mon.)*, pp. 100 and 699.

<sup>25</sup> G. Lowthian Bell, plates XX, XXV, XCIII.

Dates for  
buildings  
and  
carvings  
approved

<sup>26</sup> Dieulafoy confirms this, as the reader will remember, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, chap. I. In closing, it is satisfactory to reflect that as with the dated buildings of the vii c. or the ix c., so with the "Carolingian" carving, the most conservative chronology, on comparison, approves itself, and it is easy to see how the Dusaris-motive, for instance, at Merida and Pavia is more ancient by nearly half a mil-lennium than that at Cividale or Bewcastle, or to see how Rivoira's slab from Aquileia (*Le Origine*, fig. 256) is but an Italian version of such themes as one on the Casket of Tortosa: Puig y Cadafalch, *Arquitectura Románica*, III, Fig. 1255.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

AGAPITO Y REVILLA, J. *Arquitectura cristiana primitiva de Castilla*, *Bol. Castellan.* IV (1906), 189-92.

*La Basilica Visigoda de S. Juan Bautista*. Valladolid, 1902.

La Cueva de S. Antolin en la catedral de Palencia, *Bol. Castellan.* III (1905), 193-96.

De S. Pedro de la Nave, *Bol. Castellan.* IV (1906), 452-54.

*La Iglesia de S. Cebrian de Mazote*. Palencia, 1903.

La Iglesia de S. Juan de Baños, *Bol. Castellan.* I (1903), 156-64.

ALTAMIRA Y CREVEA, R. *Historia de España y de la Civilisacion Española*. Barcelona, 1909.

Chapters in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, II, vi and III, xvi.

AMADOR DE LOS RIOS, J. *El Arte Latino-Bizantino en España: Memorias de la R. A. de S. Fernando*, Madrid, 1861.

ANTÓN, F. S. Pedro de la Nave, *Bol. Castellan.* IV (1906), 448-52.

*Annuario delle regia scuola archeologica di Atene*: III, Adalia, 1921.

BALLU, A. *Les Ruines de Timgad*. Paris, 1911.

BELL, GERTRUDE LOWTHIAN. *Amurath to Amurath*. London, 1911.

The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin (in *Amida*, pp. 224-48).

Notes on a Journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia, *Rev. Archéol.* VII-IX (1906-07) 385, 7, 225, 390, 18.

Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir. Oxford, 1914.

*Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense.*

*Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones*, now, *Castilla Artística y Monumental*. Valladolid, 1903, cited as *Bol. Castellana*.

*Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, Madrid, 1893; cited as *Bol. Español*.

BOSCO, R. VELÁZQUEZ. *Medina Azzahra y Alamiyya*. Madrid, 1912.

BRÉHIER, L. L'art du Moyen Age est-il d'origine orientale? *Revue des Deux Mondes*, L. (1909), 650-70.

BROWN, G. BALDWIN. *The Arts in Early England*. London, 1903-21.

BUTLER, A. J. *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*. Oxford, 1884.

BUTLER, H. C. *Ancient Architecture in Syria*. Leyden, 1907-21.

*Architecture and Other Arts*. New York, 1903.

The Tychaion at Is-Sanamen, *Rev. Archéol.* 1906, 413-23.

Essay in *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*. Paris, 1910.

CASTILLO LÓPEZ, ANGEL DEL. *Riqueza monumental y artística de Galicia*. Coruña, 1921.

CASTRO, J., VILLA-AMIL Y. *v. Villa-amil*.

CATTANEO, R. *Architecture in Italy from the VI to the XI century*, translated by

Contessa Curtis Cholmeley. London, 1896.

CAVEDA, J. *Ensayo historico sobre las diversos generas de arquitectura . . . .* Madrid, 1848.

CEDILLA, CONDE DE. Un monumento desconocido, *Cultura Española*, VII, 1907.

CHABAS, R. Los Mozárabes Valencianos, *Bol. R. A. Historia*, XVIII (1891) 19-49.

CLARKE, C. U. *Collectanea Hispanica. Trans. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Paris, 1920.

COOK, A. S. The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses, *Trans. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, New Haven, 1912.

COURAJOD, L. *Leçons Professées à l'Ecole du Louvre*. Paris, 1899.

DE WALD. The Appearance of the Horse Shoe Arch in Western Europe. *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXVI (1922) 316-37.

DIAZ-JIMÉNEZ, J. E. Inmigracion Mozárabe en el reino de Leon, *Bol. R. A. de la Historia*, XX (1892), 123-51.

DIEHL, C. *L'Afrique Byzantine*. Paris, 1896. *Manuel d'Art Byzantine*. Paris, 1910.

DIEULAFOY, M. A. *Art in Spain and Portugal*. New York, 1913.

*L'Art Antique de la Perse*. Paris, 1884.

Essay in *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*. Paris, 1910.

DOZY, R. *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen age*. 2 vols., Leyden, 1881.

*Spanish Islam*, translated by F. G. Stokes. London, 1913.

ENLART, C. *Manuel de Archéologie Française*. Paris, 1902, 1904, cited as *Archéol. Chapters* in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, I i, I ii. Paris, 1905.

ESCALONA, R. *Historia de la Real Monasterio de Sahagun*, 1785.

ESPAÑA SAGRADA. Madrid, 1747-1879. Chron. Albeldense, XIII: Chron. Burgensis XVII: Chron. Sebastiani, XIII: Chron. Silensis, XVII.

FABIÉ, ANTONIO MARÍA. *Viajes por España (Libros de Antaño)*. Madrid, 1879.

FERGUSON, JAMES. *History of Architecture in All Countries*. London, 1874.

FERNÁNDEZ Y GONZÁLEZ, F. Ampliacion sobre los Mozárabes, *Bol. R. A. Historia*, XVIII (1891), 50, 51.

FERREIRO. *v. Lopez Ferreiro*.

FITA, F. On Steles at Leon: *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, I, XI, also *Bol. R. A. de la Historia*, XLV (1900) 157.

S. Miguel de Escalada, *Id. XV*.

GAYET. *L'Art Copte*. Paris, 1902.

GEROLA, GIUSEPPI. *Monumenti Veneti nell' Isola di Creta*. Venice, 1908.

GÓMEZ-MORENO, M. De Arqueología Mozárabe, *Bol. Español*. XXI (1913) 89-116. Excursion a través del arco de herradura, *Cultura Española*, 1906, pp. 786-811. *Iglesias Mozárabes*. Madrid, 1919.

S. Pedro de la Nave, *Bol. Castellan*. IV (1906), 365-73.

Santiago de Peñalba, *Bol. Castellan*. VII (1909), 193-204.

S. Tomás de las Ollas, *Bol. Castellan*. VI (1908), 401-03.

GRIMM, W. *Monuments d'architecture en Géorgie et en Arménie*, S. Petersburg.

GSELL, S. *Les Monuments Antiques de l'Algérie*. Paris, 1901.

HODGKIN, T. *Italy and Her Invaders*. London, 1890.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE. *Etymologia*, in Migne, *Pat. Lat.* LXXXII.

ITURRALDE Y SUIT, J. IV. *Las grandes ruinas monásticas de Navarra*. Pamplona, 1916.

JAMES, M. R. Learning and Literature chapters in *Cam. Med. History*, III, xix and xx.

KING, GEORGINA GODDARD. A Note on the So-called Horseshoe Architecture of Spain, *A. J. A.*, XX (1916) 407-16.

Notes to Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain*. London, 1914.

Some Churches in Galicia. *Art Studies*, I, 55-64.

Spanish Abbeys, *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, 1919, 399-405.

*The Way of S. James*, 3 vols. New York, 1920.

LAFUENTE. Note by D. Elias Romera, *q. v.*

LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA, V. *Historia de la Arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media*, cited as *Arquitectura*. Madrid, 1908.

El Bizantinismo en la arquitectura cristiana Española, *Bol. Español*. VIII (1900), 82, 111, 136.

La Iglesia de S. Cebrian de Mazote, *Bol. Español*. (1902.)

La Iglesia de S. Millan de la Cogolla de Suso, *Bol. Castellan*. V (1907), 245-57.

Lampérez Notas de un Excursion, *Bol. Español.* VII (1899), 177-93.  
*Notas sobre Algunas Monumentas de la arquitectura cristiana española.* Madrid, 1901. (This I have not seen.)  
 Nuevas investigaciones en la Iglesia de S. Miguel de Linio, *Bol. español.* XXV (1917) 25-31.  
 Otra iglesia Visigoda, *Bol. Castellan.* VII (1909), 265-68.  
 S. Comba de Bande, *Bol. Com. Prov. de Mon. Hist. de Orense.* III (1908), 277-80.  
 Sobre algunas posibles influencias de la arquitectura cristiana española de la edad media en la francesa, *Revue Hispanique*, 1907.

LÁZARO, JUAN BAUTISTA. S. Miguel de Escalada, *Bol. Español* XI (1903), 8, 36, 59, 74.

LIANEZ, M. MACIAS. *Merida Monumental y Artística.* Merida, 1913.

LÓPEZ FERREIRO, A. *Galicia en el Ultimo Tercio del Siglo XV.* Coruña, 1896.  
*Historia de la Santa Apostolica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela.* 11 vols. Compostella, 1890?

LYNCH, H. F. B. *Armenia*, London, 1901.

MÉLIDA, J. R. [Articles read and extracted long ago, now inaccessible.]  
*Rev. de Archiv. Bibl. y Museos.*  
*Revue Archéol.*

MÉLIDA, J. R. & ALVÁREZ, M. A. Un monumento desconocido, la ermita de S. Baudelio, *Bol. Español.*, XV (1907), 144-56.

MENDEL, G. *Catalogue des Sculptures (Musées Imperiaux Ottomans)*, Constantinople, 1912.

MENÉNDEZ, José F. La Basilica de S. Salvador de Val. de Dios, *Bol. Español.* XXVII (1919), 77-89.

MICHEL, A. *Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1905-23.

MILLET, GABRIEL. *L'École Grecque dans l'Architecture Byzantine*. Paris, 1916.

L'Asie Mineure nouveau domaine de l'histoire de l'art (review of Strzygowsky), *Revue Archéologique*, V (1905), 93-109.

MARTÍN MÍNGUEZ, BERNARDINO. *De la Cantabria*. Madrid, 1914.

MINNS, ELLIS H. *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge, 1913.

Monumentos Arquitectonicos de España, Madrid, 1857-91.

Monumentos Arquitectonicos de España, New Series: only Toledo published. Madrid, 1904.

MORALES, AMBROSIO DE. *Cronica General de España*. Madrid, 1791.

*Viaje por Orden del Rey D. Felipe II*. Madrid, 1763.

MORENO, v. GÓMEZ-MORENO.

MOURIER, J. *L'Art Régulieux au Caucase*. Paris, 1887.

MUÑOZ RAMOS, EUGENIO. El Agua que bebió Recesvinto, *Bol. Castellan.* I (1903), 164-65.

MURGUIA, M. *Galicia: in España sus Monumentos y Artes*. Barcelona, 1888.

POGNON, H. *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mesopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*. Paris, 1907.

TONZ, ANTONIO. *Viaje de España*. Madrid, 1788.

PORTER, A. KINGSLEY. *Lombard Architecture*. Yale, 1915-17.

PUIG Y CADAFALCH. *L'Arquitectura Románica a Catalunya*. Barcelona, 1909-18.

QUADRADO. Volumes in *España sus Monumentos y Artes*, on *Aragón, Asturias y León, Palencia, Salamanca*. Barcelona, 1888.

QUINTERO, PELAYO. Excursion a las ruinas de Segobriga, *Bol. Español*. I (1893), 114-16.

Una Iglesia Mozárabe en el Puerto de S. María, *Bol. Español*. XVIII (1910), 102.

RADA Y DELGADO, JUAN DE DIOS. Basilica de S. Juan Bautista, *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, I, 561.

RAMSAY, W. M. AND G. LOWTHIAN BELL. *The Thousand and One Churches*. London, 1909.

REDONDO, INOCENCIO. *Iglesias Primitivas de Asturias*. Oviedo, 1904.

RIEGL, A. *Stilfragen*. Berlin, 1893.

RIOS, v. AMADOR DE LOS, J.

RISCO, M. (continuator of Florez), *España Sagrada*, XXXV.

RIVOIRA, G. T. *Architettura Mussulmana*. Milan, 1914.

*Le Origine della Architettura Lombarda*. Milan, 1908.

ROMERO, ELIAS. Note on S. Baudel de Berlanga, communicated by Lafuente, *Boletín de la R. A. Historia*, V (1884), 331-32.

ROSTOVZEFF, M. *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*. Oxford, 1922.

SALAZÁR, JUAN ALLENDE. Excursión a Cuenca y Uclés, *Bol. Español.* XIII (1915), 137.

SALES Y FERRÉ. S. Comba de Bande, *Bol. Com. Mon. Orense*, XIV.

SARRE, F. Makam Ali am Euphrat ein Islamische Baudenkmal des X Jahrhunderts. *Jahrbuch der Kön. Preusz. Kunsts.* XXIX (1908), 63-76.

SCHAUBE, A. *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Volker.* Munich, 1906.

SECADA, FERMIN CANELLA. Ara inscripcional de S. Maria de Naranco, *Bol. de la R. A. Historia*, V (1884), 67.

SELGAS, FORTUNATO DE. Articles on Oviedo, *Bol. Español.* XVI (1908), 102, 162, 281, XVII (1909), 17, 165. *Monumentos Ovetenses del Siglo IX.* Madrid, 1909.  
La primitiva basilica de Santiañes de Pravia, *Bol. Español.* X (1902), 5, 28, 52. *Monumentos de Aviles*, *Bol. Español.* XV, pp. 21, 22.

SIMON Y NIETO, FRANCISCO. Descubrimientos arqueologicos en la catedral de Palencia, *Bol. Español.* XIV (1906), 65. Dos Iglesias subterraneas, *Bol. Español.* 1906, April.

STRZYGOWSKY, J. *Amida.* Heidelberg, 1910. *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa.* Vienna, 1918, cited as *Armenia.*  
*Byzantinishe Denkmäler*, II. Vienna, 1893. *Origin of Christian Church Art*, translated by O. M. Dalton and H. J. Brauholtz. Oxford, 1913.

VEGA, BENIGNO. El Patio de la Mezquita en S. Salvador de Sevilla, *Bol. Español.* XXVI (1918), 18-21.

VIGIL, C. M. *Asturias Monumental Epigrafica y Diplomatica.* Oviedo, 1887.

VILLA-AMIL Y CASTRO J. *Iglesias Gallegas.* Madrid, 1904.

VOGÜÉ, DE, J. C. M. *Syrie Centrale.* Paris, 1865.



## INDEX

To save space the names of authors cited in the text are regretfully omitted here. They may be sought in the *Notes* and the *Bibliography*. Proper adjectives are included with their respective nouns. Churches are put, so far as possible, under their place-names, and kings and cities under countries. Pressed for room, I still hope nothing essential will be missed or overlooked. Italic figures indicate plans, and Roman numerals, plates.

Aachen, 61, 190.

Africa, North, 21, 134, 137, 221.

Alfiz, 89, 163, 170.

Amanti, S. Juan, 137.

Anatolia, 70, 102, 203; invasions, 70, 71; churches, 52, 68-71, 92, 119, 184.

Apse, single, 44, 71, 90; western, 66, 168, 169; curved, 181; apse-arcading, 84, 98, 104, 134, 137, 222; apses, 3 parallel, 84, 87, 89, 92, 97, 99, 132, 168, 183, 187.

Aragon, 35, 68, 146, 156, 192.

Arian, 7, 14, 41, 138.

Armenia, 82, 83, 203; churches, 43, 44, 48, 57, 60, 67, 91, 108, 122, 137, 190, 191, 213.

Artesonado, 22.

Asia Minor, 1, 3, 5, 48, 69, 81, 83; *v.* Anatolia.

Asturias, 65, 77, 83, 85, 86, 130, 154, 193; architecture of, 133-38, 160, 182, 184, 187, 202; *v.* Reconquest.

"Atrium" (=porch), 42.

Balsamão, 64, 65, 94, 8.

Bamba, 62, 97, 165, 182-85, 33, XXXII, XL, XLI.

Note

Bande	<p>Bande, S. Comba, 45-49, 50-52, 65, 197, 5, X, XI, XIV.</p> <p>Baños, S. Juan, 23, 37-45, 46, 51, 64, 116, 3, 4, VI, VII, VIII, IX.</p> <p>Barcelona, S. Pedro de las Puellas, 194.</p> <p>Beatus, 150, 224.</p> <p>Berlanga, S. Baudelio, 194, 197-201, 36, XIX, XLVIII, XLIX, L.</p> <p>Bishop without see, 177, 183.</p> <p>Black Sea, 7, 17, 133.</p> <p>Boñar, S. Adrian, 90, 159, 161.</p> <p>Brick arches, 84, 101, 102.</p> <p>Buada, S. Julian, 193, XLV.</p> <p>Buttresses, 84, 88, 92, 93, 95, 99, 107, 116, 124, 128, 129, 132, 170, 178, 182, 183; in Africa, 221; in Syria, 106, 134.</p> <p>Byzantine, 188; MS., 20; marbles, 41, 165; style, 33, 119, 121, 133; <i>v.</i> Constantinople.</p> <p>Cairo, 115, 172, 201; <i>v.</i> Coptic.</p> <p>Campos de los Godos, 85, 86, 158, 167, 182.</p> <p>Capitals: Byzantine, 4; Catalan, 29; Visigothic, 38, 39, 45, 104, 132, 160; Mozarabic, 160, 163, 172, 187.</p> <p>Carmarzana, 66.</p> <p>Carolingian, 8, 20, 34, 58, 78, 134, 162, 203, 225, 228.</p> <p>Carving: beast-style, 8; Black Sea, 7; Carolingian, <i>q. v.</i>; Dusaris-motive, 33, 47, 96, 109, 122, 161, 208, 209; Lombard, 96; Ravennate, 29, 119; Syrian, 55, 116, 122, 133, 166, 195; twist, 108, 121, 126, 133, 165; Visigothic, 29-35, 54, 55, 96; <i>v.</i> Ornament.</p> <p>Castafieda, 145.</p> <p>Castille, 79, 145, 147, 153, 157, 194.</p> <p>Catalonia, 80, 85; churches, 193, 222.</p>
-------	---

Celanova, S. Miguel, 49, 50, 69, 176-80, 182, 35, XXXVIII, XXXIX. Celanova

Charlemagne, 27, 77, 203.

Church types, 19, 61, 190, 191; basilican, 18, 23, 36, 38, 40, 72, 99, 119, 124, 158, 182, 203; cruciform, 19, 23, 42, 47, 69, 92, 99, 116, 169, 174; cross-inscribed, 19, 52, 67, 118, 184; Tau, 19, 36; polygonal, 22, 24; nine-bayed, 59, 184, 191; eastern transept, 102-03, 217; secret chamber, 92, 101, 125, 132, 134; square east end, 91, 92, 102, 134, 179, 180, 183.

Churriguerra, 2, 205.

Cividale, baptistery, 34, 55, 109, 120, 220; S. Maria, 228.

Cloister, side, 94, 124, 128, 134, 163, 187, 220.

Cluny, 1, 2, 51, 164.

Compostella, 46, 89, 147, 177.

Constantinople, 3, 5, 22, 81, 82, 172, 190, 203; building, 4, 5, 137, 172; S. Sophia, 23, 41, 50, 189; Kahrie Djami, 23, 41, 161; cistern, 56; guilds, 140; customs, 14, 16; *v. Byzantine*.

Coptic: art, 29, 105, 136, 141; churches, 217, 222; MS. 20; Use, 14, 91, 104.

Corbel-table, 166.

Cordova, 4, 5, 34, 39, 73, 75, 77, 84, 96, 102, 140, 142, 143, 158, 167, 203; Mosque of, 5, 66, 74, 195; Caliphs, Abd-er-Rahman I, 74; A. II, 142; A. III, 84, 143, 186; monks from, 84, 140, 144, 145, 164.

*Coro* in nave, 104, 217.

Cretan: churches, 103, 217, 227; pattern, 132.

Crosses at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, 161, 228.

Duplex monasteries, 47.

Eaves-brackets, 166, 172, 179, 181, 187, 192, 195, 202.  
 Ebro Road, 77, 79, 80.  
 Egypt, 81, 137, 138, 140; Alexandria, 3; *v. Coptic.*  
 Escalada, S. Miguel, 90, 145, 153, 158-67, 179, 185, 30, XIII, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, LI.  
 Eslonza, 165.  
 France, 203; cities, 80, 164; architecture, 70, 163, 184, 204; ecclesiologists, 38, 61, 112, 213; invasions, 15, 78, 80; mind, 151; queens, 14, 15, 70; saint, 197.  
 Fuentes, S. Salvador, 131, 137, 28.  
 Galicia, 45-47, 75, 80, 145, 156, 177, 193, 196.  
 Georgia, 57, 61, 83, 137.  
 Germigny, 28, 60, 9.  
 Goldwork, 49, 156, 157, 204; Black Sea, 7; Crowns of Guerrazar, 19, 25, 38, 121, II; Cross of the Angels, 105.  
 Greece, 2; Greek churches, 48, 52, 53, 122, 184; prototypes, 39; school, 204; *Usé*, 14, 104; *v. Hellenistic.*  
 Guerrazar, 19, 23, 66; *v. Goldwork.*  
 Hellenistic, 3, 24, 43, 50, 57, 171, 189.  
 Hermengild, 10, 15, 16, 142.  
 Hispano-Romans, 6, 13, 21, 26, 73, 139, 142.  
 Hornija, 62, 63, 97, 165, 166.  
 Horseshoe arch, 23, 31, 35, 36, 38-40, 47, 53, 59, 63, 68, 71, 84, 92, 97, 112, 152, 158, 165, 169, 170, 174, 179, 181, 183, 186, 193, 194, 206, 207; *v. Mozarabic, Visigothic.*  
 Iconography of Incarnation, 223.  
 Iconostasis, 90, 116, 118, 160, 168.  
 Intercommunication at east end, 53, 69, 88, 90, 92, 169.

Isidore, 20, 21, 25, 49, 62, 80; Rule, 14; account of architecture, 21-24.

Italian art, 203, 204; Aurona, church of, 54; Brescia, 36; Clitumnus, temple of, 108; ecclesiologists, 61, 112, 213; Grado, carving, 32, 119, 121; Lombard, 96, 99, 136; Lucca, 121; Milan, 162, 191, 219; *v.* Ravenna, Rome, Venice.

Jacobite monks, 81, 103, 104, 138.

Jews in Spain, 25, 26, 146, 149.

Kings, Spanish, *q. v.*

Knights: Hospitallers, 183; of the Holy Sepulchre, 198; Templars, 68, 70.

Knot, 161.

Labarum, 35.

Latin art, 20, 120, V.

Lebefia, S. Maria, 185-88, 191, 34, 38, XLII, XLIII.

Lena, S. Cristina, 53, 83, 90, 112, 114-17, 22, XXII, XXIII, XXIV.

Leon, 84, 85, 86, 140, 141, 145, 147, 154, 195, 196; S. Isidore, 91, 141, 201; Arab elements in, 148-50, 173.

Liébana, 153; *v.* Lebeña.

Linio, S. Miguel, 83, 90, 102, 110, 117-22, 124, 188; 23; V, XXV.

Lombard: carving, 96; cathedral, 99, 136.

Marbles, 18, 23, 24, 40, 41, 63; from Proconesus, 140, 165, 174, 223.

Marquet, S. Maria, 193.

Master of D. Ramiro, 83, 106, 107, 117, 126, 133, 140, 189.

Mazote, S. Cebrian, 145, 164, 165, 167-69, 179, 185, 29, XXIX, XXX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV.

Medinaceli, 146.

Melque, S. Maria, 67-71, 197, 12, XVI, XVII.  
 Merida, 4, 21, 23, 24, 28, 74, 77, 104, 143; capital, 56, 121, 164; "convent", 32, 33, IV; Museum, 28-31, 34, III, V; S. Eulalia, 39.  
 Mesopotamia, 53, 81, 82, 92, 114, 138, 175, 185, 189, 190, 201, 203; Ctesiphon, 121, 189; Hatra, 113, 120; Makam Ali, 185, 191, 226; Resapha, 53; Samarra, 107, 189, 201; Ukhaidir, 107, 171, 189, 200, 201; Warka, 31.  
 Montelios, 64, 185, 191.  
 Morales, 35, 41, 62, 97, 98, 111, 118, 183.  
 Moroso, S. Roman, 191-92.  
 Mosaic of stones, 24, 33, 130.  
 Mosques, 4, 41, 66, 74, 115, 172, 190, 195, 201.  
 Mozarabic: civilization, 3, 139-58, 186; art, 156, 157, 162, 201; painting, 140, 151; MSS. 141, 151, 153; poet, 146; capitals, 63, 163-65; carving, 105, 126; churches, 23, 129, 135, 199, 202; architecture, 49, 67, 181, 182, 194, 202; Use, 14, 90, 116.  
 Mshatta, 56, 133, 189.  
 Mudéjar, 67, 150, 157, 164.  
 Naranco: hill, 102, 117, 124, 129; S. Maria, 23, 83, 101, 105-14, 117, 118, 125, 24, I, XIX, XX, XXI.  
 Narbonne, 10, 26, 80.  
 Narthex, 92, 100, 102, 124, 127, 132, 184, 187; Galilee, 91.  
 Navarre, 75, 78, 85, 145, 147, 157.  
 Nave, S. Pedro de, 50-57, 61, 65, 71, 92, 120, 133, 184, 188, 6, III, XII, XIII.  
 Nora, S. Pedro, 129, 19.  
 Normans, 76, 105, 123, 177.

Olerdula, 193, XLIV.  
Orense, 46, 145, 180.  
Ornament, 24, 41; arcading, 121; imbricated, 31, 208; semicircles, 101, 132, 133, 162; *v. Carving.*  
Orosius, 9.  
Oviedo, 74, 75, 91, 115; Council, 129; Camara Santa, 49, 95, 96, 106, 13; treasures, 49, 105; cathedral, 75, 79, 93, 130; chapel of Chaste King (S. Maria), 97-99, 14; S. Tirso, 23, 89, 93-95, 101, 124, 17.  
Palencia, 86, 191; cave of S. Antolin, 66.  
*Panteon*, 77, 87, 91, 98, 217.  
Parapet, 90, 116, 118, 161, XXIX.  
Pedret, S. Quirse, 193.  
Peña, S. Juan de la, 192-93.  
Peñalba, Santiago, 69, 165, 168, 169-74, 179, 31, VII, XI, XXXVI, XXXVII.  
Persian, 33, 42, 141, 152, 171; Tag-i-Bostan, 56, 121; Sassanian building, 82, 89.  
Plateresque, 2, 91.  
Ponz, 42.  
Portugal, 64, 65.  
Pravia, 86; *v. Santiañes.*  
Priesca, S. Salvador, 84, 127-29, 131, 137, 25.  
Quadrado, 42.  
Ravenna, 4, 190; carving, 29, 119, 127; Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, 45, 48, 62, 167; S. Vitale, 48, 59, 64, 190.  
Reconquest, 2, 73-86; building, 49, 119, 133-38; *v. Asturian.*  
Romanesque, 2, 57, 68, 72, 95, 111, 114, 131, 136, 166, 175, 183, 196, 204; arch in two orders, 131, 199.  
Rome, 3, 4, 8, 10, 21, 140, 155, 216, 219; building, 18, 171, 190; Roman-Byzantine, 17.

Olerdula

Sahagun Sahagun, 145, 164, 165, 182, 183, VI.  
 S. Millan (church), 194-97, 37, XLVI, XLVII.  
 S. Pedro de Montes, 141, 172; de Rocas, 194, 227; de las Pueblas, 194 (churches).  
 S. Tomás de las Ollas (church), 174-76, 181, 32, XXXV.  
 Saints, Spanish; Fructuoso, 64; Genadius, 141, 159, 172, 173; Rosendo, 46, 49, 123, 176; Syrian, Ginés, 80. Dedications: S. Comba, 45, 46, 211; Julian, 76, 79, 97, 99, 144, 193; Michael, 58, 95, 144, 158, 177; Saviour, 75, 79, 123, 127, 131, 176.  
 Salamanca, 54, 166, 197.  
 Salonica, S. Menas, 43.  
 Salvian, 11, 12.  
 Samos, 144, 193, 27.  
 Sandoval, 42, 196.  
 Santiafies, 86-92, 90, 94, 124, 11.  
 Santullano, 79, 99-105, 124, 137, 18, XVIII.  
 Saragossa, 19, 78, 84, 85, 143, 166.  
 Segobriga, 34, 44, 2.  
 Seville, 4, 5, 13, 15, 19, 21, 139, 142, 143, 186.  
 Space composition, 50, 57, 92, 167, 188, 189, 190.  
 Spanish architecture, 2, 88, 183, 191; character, 1, 11, 16, 28, 85, 150, 189; religions, 3, 16, 150, 153.  
 Spanish March, 79, 80, 194.  
 Spanish kings: Alfonso I, the Catholic, 75, 90; A. II, the Chaste, 77, 79, 90, 91, 93, 95, 97; A. III, the Great, 46, 50, 84, 96, 117, 123, 142, 164; A. VI, 70, 86, 111, 148, 204; A. el Batallador, 197; Chidaswinth, 19, 26, 62, 167; Enrique IV, 150; Ferdinand the Great, 145, 147; Leovigild, 10, 13, 14,

16; Ordoño I, 84; O. II, 145, 146; Spanish Kings  
 Ramiro I, 83, 105, 113, 123, 144; R. II, 146; Recared, 10, 14, 16, 26; Receswinth, 19, 25, 26, 37, 183; Roderick, 26, 74, 91; Silo, 77, 86, 123; Sisebut, 20, 74; Swinthila, 25.

Syria, 1, 25, 81; architects, 5, 134, 187, 189; bishops, 4; cults, 80; travellers, 80, 150; Use, 80, 88; churches, 4, 53, 134; carving, 4, 29, 32, 33, 116; string-course, 108, 126; building, 4, 89, 92, 102, 128, 135, 136, 166, 168, 171, 189, 201, 204, 220; cities, 2, 21, 24, 29, 43, 50, 53, 56, 102, 106, 115, 125, 136, 165, 190; Kefr Finsheh, 43, 1; It-Tuba, 134, 187; Kasr-ibn-Wardan, 50, 189; Shaqqa, 106, 26, XXII; Shehba, 165, XXXI.

Tarrasa, 48, 58–60, 191; S. Maria, 58; S. Miguel (baptistery), 58, 61, 7, XIV, XV; S. Pedro, 58.

Theodota's tomb, 34, 96.

Tioda, 79, 83, 93, 99, 101, 102, 106, 133, 140, 170.

Toledo, 17, 19, 20, 21, 77, 80, 92; court, 71, 77; script, 20; churches, 18, 23, 33, 38, 67; Christ of the Light, 61, 66, 67, 185, 10; *las Tornerias*, 61, 191; S. Tirso, 112, 20.

Tuñon, S. Adrian, 131, 132.

Tur Abdin, 81, 88, 90, 103, 104, 113, 137, 155, 216, 15, 16.

Twin Saints, 192, 193.

Urgel, 151, 153.

Val de Dios, S. Salvador, 84, 102, 123, 128, 185, 21, XXVI.

Vaulting, 22, 48, 52, 58, 64, 65, 92, 101, 103,

## Vaulting

106, 118, 171, 188; barrel, 40, 53, 68, 82, 89, 95, 97, 101, 107, 112, 115, 119, 124, 131, 134, 169, 170, 184, 187, 188, 191, 199, 219; cloistered, 59, 69, 168, 181, 200; dome, 168, 174, 179, 181, 189, 190; fluted, 159, 171, 180, 181, 202; groined, 45, 52, 59, 175, 179, 181; lantern, 171, 179, 199. Venice, 162; S. Marco, 23, 121. Vierzo, 91, 141, 149, 169, 172; Villafranca, 91; Ponferrada, 174. Villanueva, 49, 180, 181, 187. Visigoths, 3-28; 1, 2, 6, 7, 12, 26, 58, 61, 70, 204; later, 73, 123, 143, and architecture, 182; Ataulf, 9; Theodored, 9; Theodulf, 60, 61, 214; kings, 19, 20, 26, 27; capitals, 39, 63, 67; churches, 28, 44, 49, 60, 67, 72, 76, 102, 125, 183, 202; epigraphy, 51, 56; horseshoe, 53, 64, 152, 207; script, 20; Use, 44, 71, 90. Waters at Baños, 37. Zamora, 50, 54, 193; town, 51, 141. Zealots, 96, 142, 143.



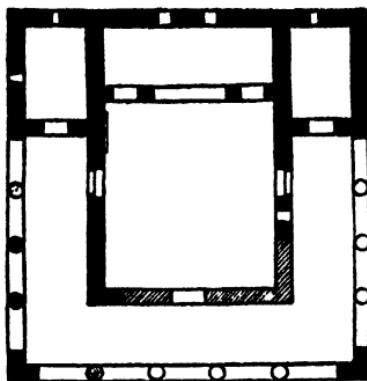


FIG. 1.—Kefr Finsheh

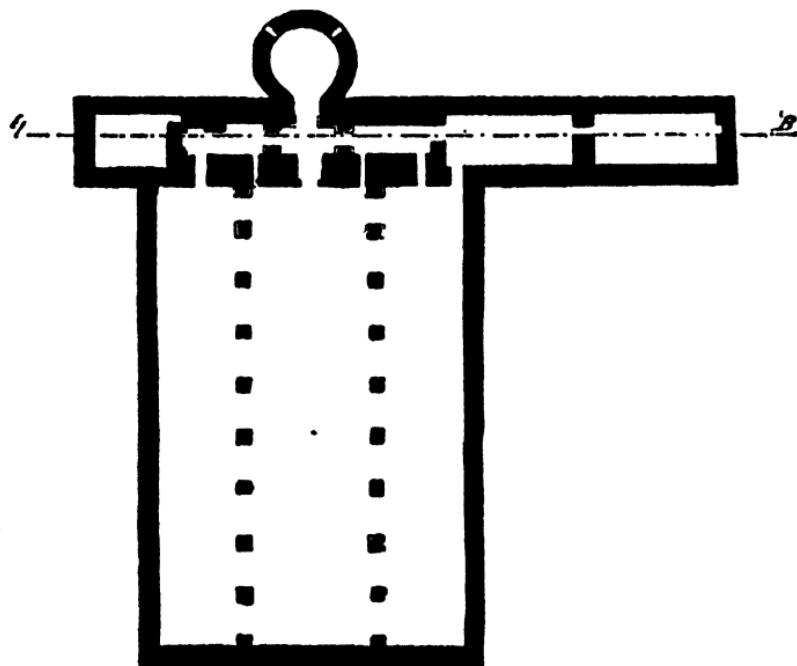


FIG. 2.—Segobriga

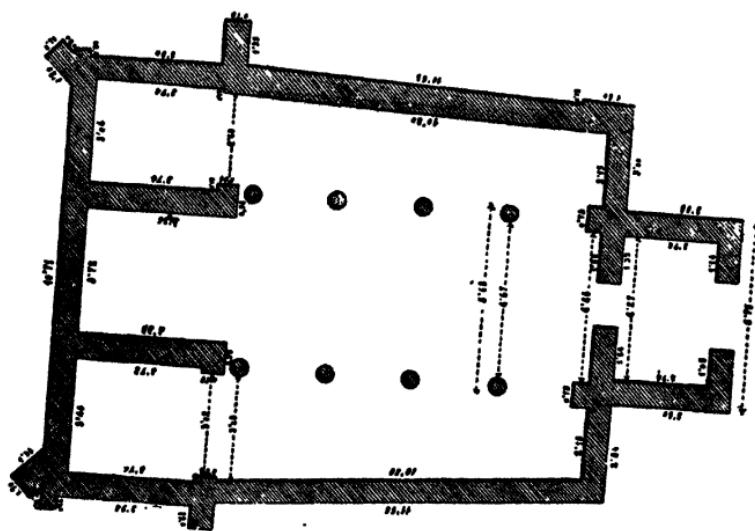


FIG. 3.—S. Juan de Baños now

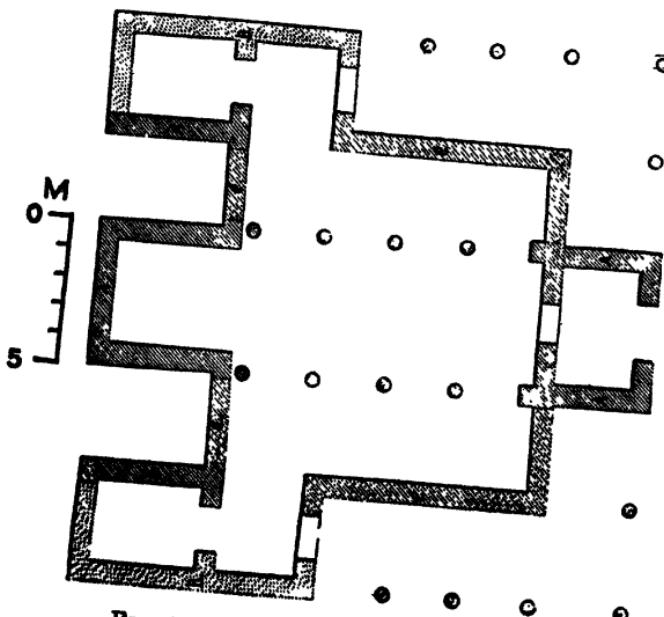


FIG. 4.—S. Juan de Baños originally

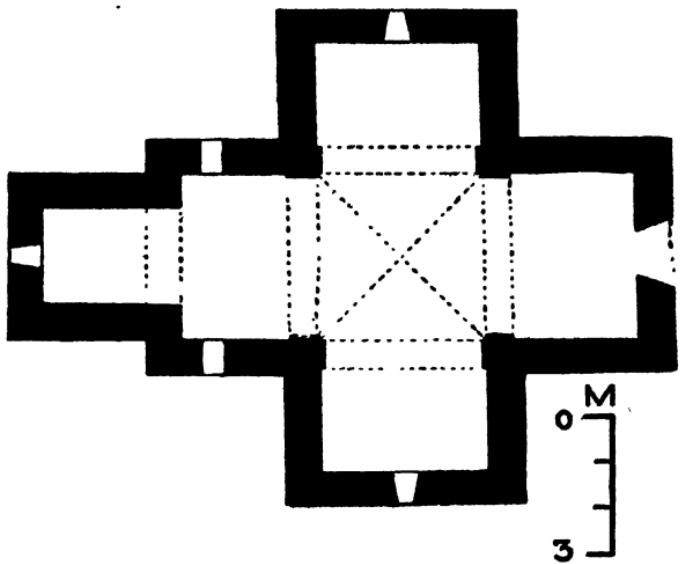


FIG. 5.—S. Comba de Bande

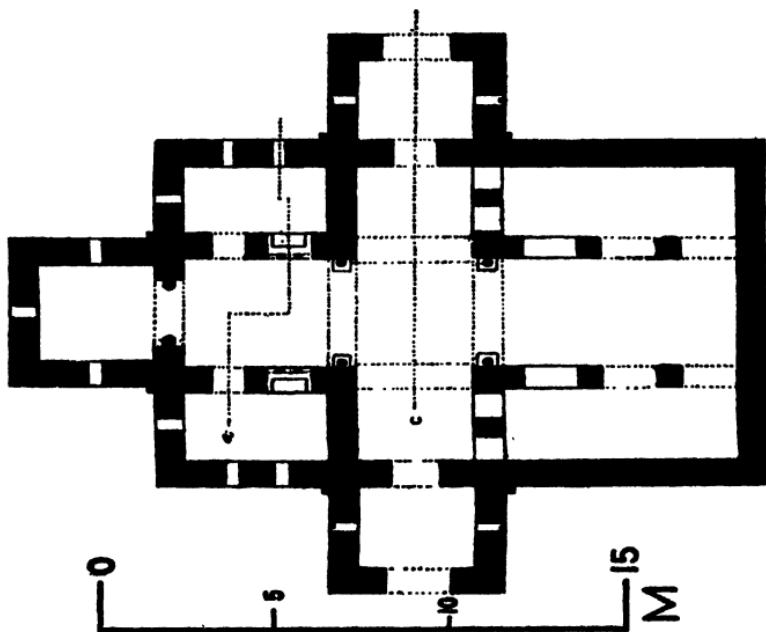


FIG. 6.—S. Pedro de Nave

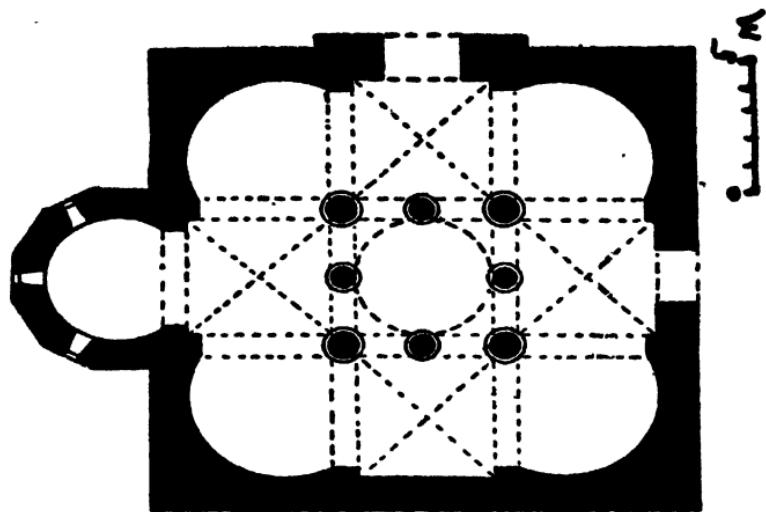


FIG. 7.—S. Miguel de Tarrasa

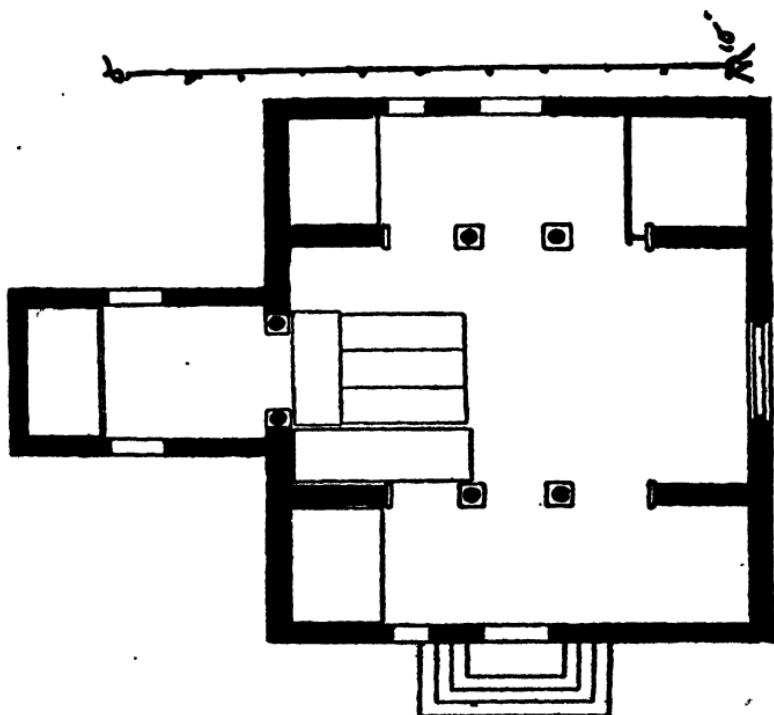


FIG. 8.—Balsamão

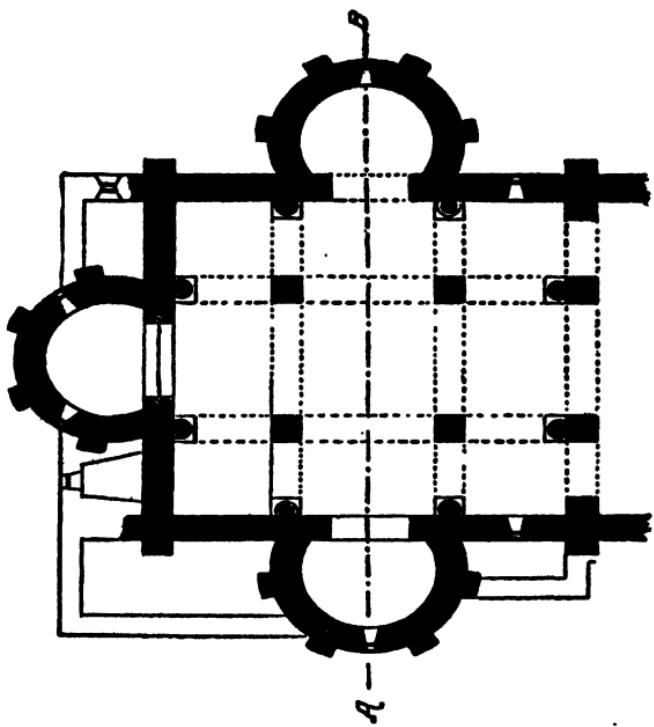


FIG. 9.—Germigny-les-Prés

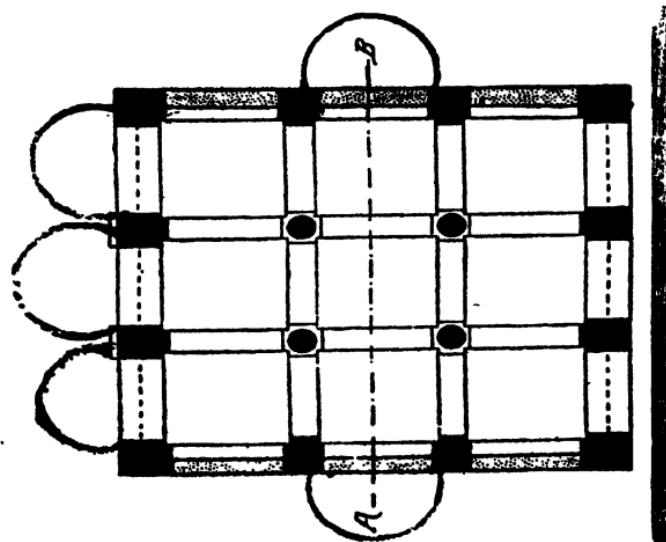


FIG. 10.—Christ of the Light originally

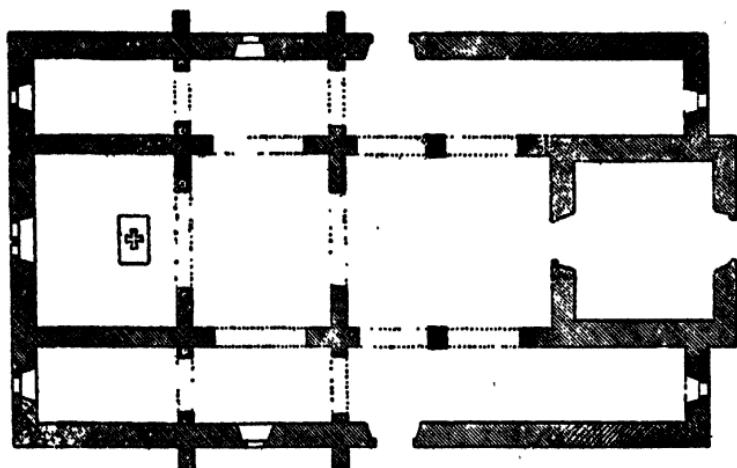


FIG. 11.—Santiañes

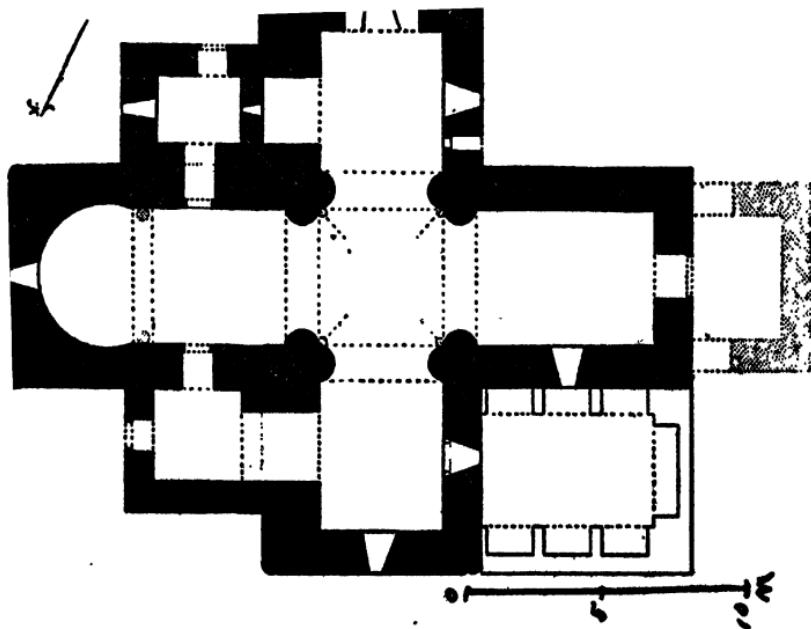


FIG. 12.—S. Maria de Melque

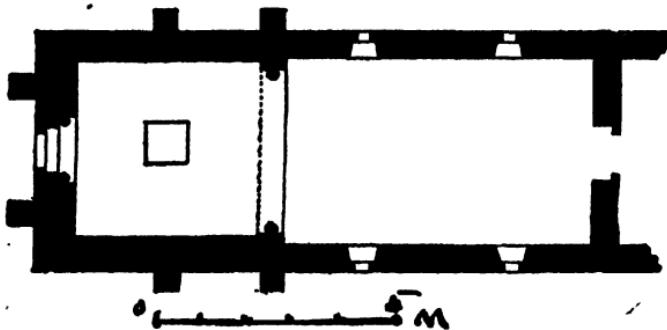
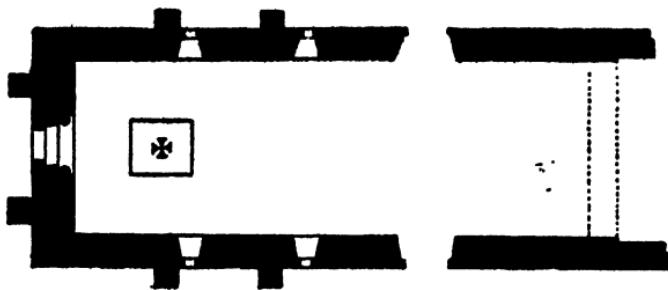


FIG. 13.—Camara Santa and Crypt

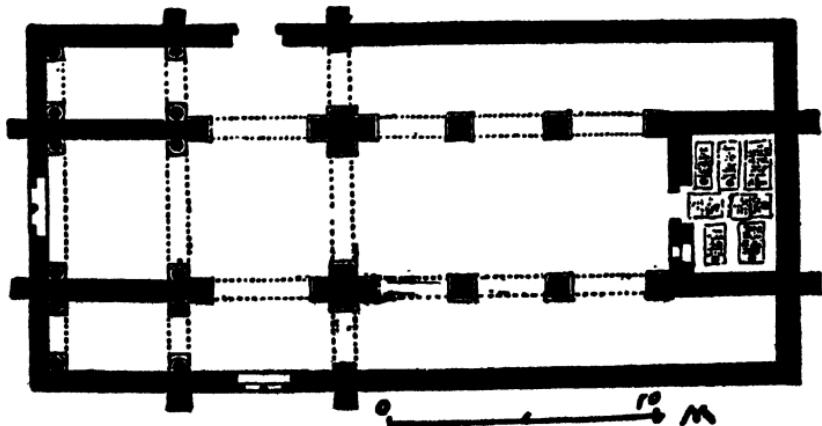


FIG. 14.—S. Maria, Oviedo



